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Hard New World: Living Without Cold-War Clarity

By Thomas L. Friedman New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Normally, Washington gets exercised about the toppling of freely elected presidents. But when the freely elected, yet brutish, government of President Zviad K. Gamsakhurdia was deposed by rebels in the former Soviet republic of Georgia last week, the Bush administration was silent.

It did not know quite what to say, so it said nothing. It will soon have to get its script together, though, because the case of Georgia is no anomaly. It is at the core of the next major debate on American foreign policy.

no anomaly. It is at the core of the next major decrete on constituting foreign policy.

In the post-Cold War era, Washington is going to have to wrestle with the complexities of a world governed increasingly by its own values, or at least imitations of them. In such a world, America will increasingly have to acknowledge that elected tyrants — like Mr. Gamsakhurdia — are scarcely better than unelected ones, and it will have to choose its allies not by choosing between dictators and democrats, or between friends and foes in a cold war, but between so-called democrats and segmine democrats. so-called democrats and germine democrats.

so-called democrats and genuine democrats.

"The emerging world is likely to lack the clarity of the Cold War, and to be a more jungle-like world of multiple dangers, hidden traps, umpleasant surprises and moral ambiguities," Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wiscousin, said recently. "The old world was good guys and bad guys. The new world is gray guys."

That is clear not only from the situation in Georgia, but also from other former Soviet republics like Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

NEWS ANALYSIS

- which are led by freely elected presidents whose commitment to real democratic practices is still very much suspect.

Boris N. Yeltsin, the Russian president, was popularly elected, but he much prefers to rule by decree. The same is true of Ukraine's president. Leonid M. Kravchuk, who runs his parliament like a big

The freely elected presidents of other Soviet republics have more in common with the Godfather than with George Washington, while the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria is inspired much more by the writings of Ayatollah Khomeini than the Federalist Papers.

During the Cold War the United States did not really have the luxury or burden of choosing its frieads. It simply had to identify who was with it in the grand struggle with the "Evil Empire" led by

Moscow, and those people almost automatically became allies, Sure, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran and President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines were dictators - but, as the saying went,

they were "our" dictators.

Washington did press for democracy, free markets and other ideals, but it never made affirmation of these values a prerequisite. for friendship or aid.

Now, with the collapse of the Soviet empire, the United States has both the burden and the luxury of choosing its friends. The world is no longer divided in two; the sides have not been chosen up in advance. This raises a fundamental problem: what yardstick to use in deciding which newly emerging democracies and other states —in the former Soviet empire and elsewhere — will be friends and which

The emerging yardstick is one of democratic values — who is living up to them, and who isn't. That is the standard Washington is applying to the newly independent Source remphics, assertioned by applying to the newly independent Societ republishe five-point checklist that Secretary of State Jam See FRIENDS, Page 6.



A tank moving into position Sunday in Algiers. Troops also were deployed in other Algerian cities following the resignation of President Bendjedid.

East Europe: Bonn's Growing Preoccupation

By Joseph Fitchett al Herold Tribune

BONN - German officials acknowledge that their foreign policy has become more assertive, but they insist that the shift mainly concerns Germany's special concerns in Eastern Eu-

Its actions toward Yugoslavia, in which Bonn recognized Croatian inde-pendence despite other Western gov-ernments' objections, underline the special potential for crises in Eastern Europe to put unpredictable strains on German diplomacy, according to offials interviewed in Bonn.

"Germany feels that it cannot escape from the new turbulence that can erupt anywhere from St. Petersburg to Con-stantinople," a German foreign policy official said.

His use of the names of the old Russian and Turkish capitals was a reminder of how often Balkan instabil-

Germany will cut its defense spe by one-third. Page 6.

ity has troubled Germany and sucked it into conflict with its neighbors. Precisely because the Yogoslav crisis

resonates so strongly among Germans, other officials said privately, Chancelfor Helmut Kohl's government decided that recognition of Croatia was vital to head off an anti-European backlash in Germany and dispel doubts about whether the European Community addresses German concerns,

There's a feeling here that Germans sacrificed the Deutsche mark to belp EC countries accommodate our economic power," a Kohl aide said, "but they won't listen when Germans explain our alarm about Eastern Eu-

Although Germany's diplomats urged a more accommodating line toward the allies, they were overruled by Mr. Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who wanted to send an unmistakable signal that Germany's partners must not ignore German concerns where Eastern Europe is con-

In the process, Mr. Genscher often rode roughshod over other views, impatiently cutting short a phone conversation conveying a last-second appeal by the Bush administration to delay recognistration to delay recog-

Publicly, German officials insist that if Croatia is spared more fighting it will be proof that Bonn was right to internationalize the crisis by granting recog-nition. But U.S. officials say that war-weariness made all sides readier to talk.

But diplomats in Bonn, including many who sympathize with German complaints that Western governments gave too low a priority to the fighting in Yogoslavia, maintaio that Mr.

See BONN, Page 6

Algeria Cancels Vote, Bowing To Pressure From Military

Move Follows Resignation Of President, Islamic Front Had Expected Big Victory

> By Youssef M. Ibrahim New York Times Service

ALGIERS - The Algerian government on Sunday canceled the parliamentary elections that had given a major triumph to the Islamic Salvation Front, the country's most popular political party.

The government of Prime Minister Sid Ahmed

Ghozali acted under strong pressure from the army in an attempt to prevent Muslim fundamentalists from scoring further gains in the second round of parliamentary voting on Thursday. On Saturday, the army forced President Chadli Bendjedid to resign.

After a long session of the so-called High Security Council, Mr. Gbozeli's government said it would not bold new elections "until necessary conditions are achieved for the oormal functioning of institutions." There was oo immediate comment by the Islamie Salvation Front, But earlier Sunday evening, the Front, which had emerged from the first round of

elections Dec. 26 as Algeria's most powerful political organization, vowed that it would fight any such decision by the government. Abdelkader Hachani, the Front's acting president, who had remained silent since Colonel Bendjedid shocked the country with his resignation Saturday night, had issued a statement warning the government against "attempts to drown the choice of the people."

Mr. Hachani, whose party won 188 seats of the 430-seat parliament in the first round of elections, and was certain to win an absolute majority in the second round, said that the Islamic Front insisted on proceed-

Algerian officials and the daily press confirmed Sunday that Colooel Bendjedid's departure resulted from an ultimatum by the army's top command, which vowed that it would never allow the democratization process that came close to delivering the country's first multiparty parliament to the fundamentalists.

According to several accounts in the press and by officials, Colonel Bendjedid was told that senior army commanders did not agree with his plan to continue managing Algeria's affairs under a system of "cohabitation" with the Islamic fundamentalists.

In such an arrangement, Colonel Bendjedid would have used his wide presidential powers to block any initiatives by a fundamentalist-controlled parliament. Furthermore, several officials said, the president had discreetly contacted some Front leaders to agree on the parameters of cooperation once the party had

won a legislative majority in the second round of See ALGERIA, Page 6

Kiosk

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Zhelev Tons Bulgaria Vote

SOFIA (Renter) - President Zhelyu Zhelev had a clear. lead but was likely to fall short. of a first-round victory in Bulgaria's first presidential elections, projections Sunday indi-

Mr. Zhelev, a former dissident and former leader of the governing Union of Democratic Forces, was winning about 44 percent of the vote. That put him well ahead of his nearest rival, the Communistbacked independent, Velko Valkanov, but short of the 50 percent needed to avoid a second round next Sunday. Electoral officials said more

than 70 percent of the 6.3 million electorate cast ballots, despite earlier signs of a low

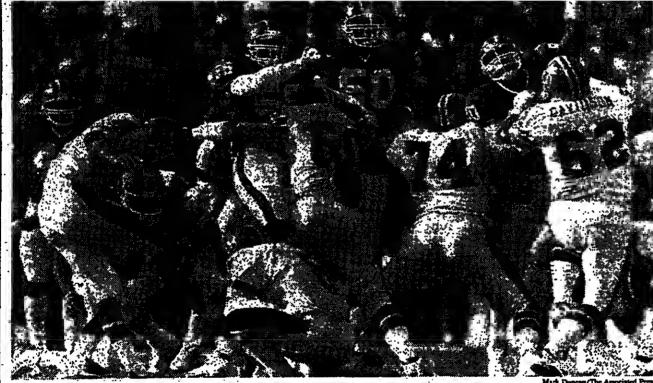
General News

A CIA penel urges that many papers be declassified. Page 3. In South Africa, the bush hides the direct poverty from sight and consciousness. Page 2. Television viewers see a more complete version of George Bush's collapse. Page 3. Hong Kong is willing to take democratic risks, a legislator says. Monday Q&A, Page 2.

Business/Finance

Germany's economy will grow despite high rates, the Bundes-bank president said. Page 7. Mosbacher called on the EC to "relent" shead of Geneva talks on GATT.

Crossword



Bills Defeat Broncos for American Football Conference Title

Dave Treadwell (9), the Denver Broncos' placekicker, left, missing a field-goal attempt in the game Sunday against the Buffalo Bills in Orchard Park, New York. The Bills went on to claim victory, 10-7, and advance to the Super Bowl. Page 13.

A Pro-Communist Protest in Moscow

By Serge Schmemann.
New York Times Service MOSCOW - About 10,000 Communist supporters took to the streets on Sunday to protest rising prices and demand the resignation

of the government. of the government.

The rally also heard protests from military officers against the fragmentation of the army.

The rally was held the day after Russian and Ukraiman negotiators meeting in Kiev agreed to defuse a meeting in Kiev agreed to defuse a

confrontation over the possession of the Black Sea Fleet and other

A communique issued after daylong negotiations said that part of
the fleet would be assigned to
Ukraine. Detailed negotiations
were left until later, with instruction that each side would avoid

The relly in Mancyl Square in unilateral actions until a final agreement was reached, and that "all disputes would be resolved through negotiations."

Russia had initially offered to

Both Ukraine and Russia had assign sufficient ships for coastal trayed the rally as the first bid by claimed the entire fleet, and defense to Ukraine, but early this the ousted Communists to take advantage of the price shocks.

Chuk of Ukraine said that the entire fleet, and defense to Ukraine but early this countered the rally as the first bid by the ousted Communists to take advantage of the price shocks.

tion how large a share of the fleet Ukraine would receive. The rally in Manezh Square in

There was no immediate indica- be disintegrated." Moscow came as the newly inde-pendent states wrestled with the repercussions of increased prices.
Television commentators por-

chilk of Ukraine said that the entire theet should belong to his republic. President Boris N. Yeltsin of Rus-hov of the Union of Army Officers, who declared that "patriotic-mind-ed forces will not allow the army to

> They won't let our ouclear forces be placed under NATO's control," he said. One of the more-militant speakers called on the army to "do its

constitutional duty, take power in See MOSCOW, Page 6

Radicalizing of the West Bank

By Jackson Diehl

ELON MOREH, Israeli-Occupied West Bank - The narrow. winding road up the hill to this Jewish settlement used to be lined with olive trees planted by Palestinians from oearby villages. Now, however, there is an ugly scar: bro-ken branebes, upturned roots and jagged trunks, the work of a Jewish

raiding party.

The devastated trees are like a signpost of the mood to be encountered in this outpost near Nablus. where a car bearing Jewish resi-

"The people are very hot," said Rabbi Flyakim Levanon, a spiritu-al leader of the community and member of a recently formed rabbis' council in the West Bank. "They are ready to do anything, to go to the barricades. We have responded by telling them to do the maximum within the law to make

situation cannot go on." From the perspective of most Israchis and Arabs, little has emerged dents was recently attacked by so far from the Israeli-Arab peace Arab snipers. Like other settlers oegotiations, the third round of around the West Bank, the people which were postponed in Washing-of Elon Moreh are frightened, frus-ton on Sunday and are now due to trated and furious — and determined to take action against what

100,000 Jewish settlers in the occuthey see as the double threat of pied West Bank and Gaza Strip,

militant Palestinians and Middle the process already appears cata-

Two months after the talks began at the Madrid conference, the right-wing government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is on the verge of opening discussions with Palestinians about a plan for an interim period of self-rule by the 1.7 million Arabs in the territories - a step the settlers see as a grave threat to their communities. clear to the government that this

At the same time, radical Palestimen groups opposed to the peace talks have launched a campaign of ambushes against Israeli civilian cars driving in the territories, which are easily identifiable by their license plates. So far, four settlers have been shot and killed and another settler has been wounded

See ISRAEL, Page 6

For Dealmakers, a Debacle

By Erik Ipsen

LONDON - In an ironic turn of fate, Europe's mergers and acquisitions experts are fretting for their future — for their bonuses

and in some cases even their jobs. In Britain, long Europe's most open and active mergers market, £24 billion (\$43 billion) worth of corporations changed hands in 1988. But last year, M&A business tidn't reach even a third of that level. On the Cootinent, considered a great potential mergers market during the drive toward a single European market, a surge in business largely failed to materialize.

Mergers and acquisitions specialists were once among the most feared men in finance, able to reduce captains of industry to nervous wrecks when confronted with news of a hostile takeover bid and penultimate moment, the chief exthe prospect of a premature end to ecutive of the prospective bidder their life in the executive suite.

great names in the brokerage busi- I think the best thing to do now is oess have disappeared in the last oothing."

few years, you will also see a oumber of the great oames in mergers and acquisitions come under pressure," said Callum McCarthy, dep-uty head of corporate finance at the London investment bank Barclays de Zoete Wedd.

The fragile state of European economies and the prospect of more hard times to come gets much of the blame.

Marcus Agius, vice chairman of Lazard Brothers, asserts that in merchant banking, confidence is all, and that "once that disappears everything else just evaporates."

Bankers today brim over with tales of multibillion-dollar business neir life in the executive suite.

Say, as one banker paraphrased it,

Gee, I just don't feel so confident.

The bitany of woe, of plummet-

"Lots of companies in France got overgeared because of expansions," said Guy Dawson, head of corporate finance at Morgan Grenfell, the London merchant banking arm of Deutsche Bank. "In Germaoy they are preoccupied with the East, and it just goes on and on."

In recessioo-ravaged Britain, Piers von Simson, a director with S.G. Warburg, said that perhaps later in the year businessmen would be able to see a light at the end of the tunnel. Only, he said, "it may just be Lamont waving a torch, referring to the ever-opti-mistic chancellor of the Exchequer, Norman Lamont.

One key disappointment for many underemployed M&A peo-ple was the failure of the mergers

Quayle as President? A Shortage of Moral Weight, Maybe, but Plenty of Ambition

By David S. Broder and Bob Woodward

Washington Post Service WASHINGTON - Last Wednesday, for the second time in eight months, President George Bush's sudden illness thrust this question on the United States and the

world: What if Dan Quayle became president? him in Congress, who ran campaigns for and against him, and who work with him in the Bush administration —

a basic decency and an even-tempered disposition. As generation Colleagues questioned whether he had the had the "moral authority" the American people are "really stature to lead the nation. His ingratiating personality has "Midwest nice." He also would bring an able staff, and Ronald Reagan-like conservative convictions about the Ronald Reagan-like conservative convictions about the stature to lead the nation. His ingratiating personality has thinking" about when they elect a president. One thing about Mr. Quayle that seems certain, however, is his ambition to be elected president. As one of his evils of bureaucratic regulation and high taxes. Yet his as vice president

But even many of his friends and close associates

Senator Warren B. Rudman, Republican of New expressed doubts about Mr. Quayle's intellectual depth, his knowledge and understanding of history and his applied and said he was "vastly underestimated." But

illness thrust this question on the United States and the world: What if Dan Quayle became president?

The more than 200 people interviewed for these articles

The more than 200 people interviewed for these articles career indicates that he would be as ready to negotiate as dispel the impression that this former C-student was a man of average sifts and modest vision.

But the man of average sifts and modest vision man of average sifts and modest vision.

nam in Congress, who are in the Bush administration—and who work with him in the Bush administration—and who work with him in the Bush administration—agreed on several parts of the answer.

Mr. Quayle, they said, would bring to the White House

And he said that although Mr. Quayle was young, "he capture that is very significant."

Two sharply contrasting views about Mr. Quayle and experience that is very significant."

Others in the inner councils of the Bush administration.

Nr. Rudman also said he did not think that Mr. Quayle

And he said that although Mr. Quayle was young, "he capture that is very significant."

Others in the inner councils of the Bush administration.

See OHAVI F. Page 3

er, is his ambition to be elected president. As one of his closest associates put it, there is "zero doubt" that a 1996 secretary, Mr. Skinner explained why he would be comclosest associates put it, there is "zero doubt" that a 1996

political preparation about much of what he does. History is on Mr. Quayle's side. Although Mr. Bush was the first sitting vice president in 152 years to be elected president, five of the last nine presidents emerged from the

who, in his new post as White House chief of staff, is in a strategic position to help Mr. Quayle achieve his ambition.

White House campaign is in his plans. There is an aura of political preparation about much of what he does.

History is on Mr. Quayle's side. Although Mr. Bush was right. Number two, his political judgment is solid. Number two, his political judgment is solid. Number two, his political judgment is solid. ber three, he is not wrapped up in the trappings of office or those things that would cloud his judgment."

And he said that although Mr. Quayle was young, "he

Democratic Risks Are Hong Kong's to Take, Legislator Says

Democrats of Hong Kong, received the most votes in the first direct elections to the Legislative Council last fall. He spoke last week with Samuel Abt and Laurence Zuckerman of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. There has been much criticism of Prime Minister John Major's recent decision to announce the retirement of Governor Sir David Wilson months before a successor can be named. What effect will this have on Hong Kong?

A. I still don't know why it was handled this way. There are different views. I consider him too weak on China. Other people said he was not defending British interests strongly enough. In practice, however, I don't think the announcement matters too much. I suppose now people will have to take him lightly. Beforehand, they didn't have to, but they did.

O. Some have called for a direct election to determine his successor. Is that a

A. It can't be a bad idea. The British

recently, when they saw they had some good chance of success in the next elections. At any rate, I don't think China would allow that to happen even if the British government had the will and determination. China doesn't want the key,

MONDAY O&A

as it were, to be handed back by a Chinese. They want to make sure that the British lose face on that midnight. Q. Rather than hold an election, another suggestion is that the prime minister should simply appoint you governor.

A. No way. I will be the last person. Q. Does that mean you wouldn't ac-

A. It is just not a possibility. If you allow the people of Hong Kong a free vote, I don't care who gets elected. I don't even mind giving you a commitment that I would not stand. I want the governor of

Q. When you say that Beijing wouldn't

allow it, what do you mean A. Because the British have been listening to them already. They shouldn't, but they do. They deny that this is a condominium government. Maybe it's not. Maybe it's worse. Maybe it's a puppet

Q: British officials argue that granting Q: British officials argue that granting Hong Kong more democracy without Beijing's blessing could ultimately do great harm if China makes good on its promise to dismantle such changes after 1997. What do you say to that?

A. Let me tell you what Baroness Lydia Dunn has said. Now Lydia Dunn is a

very conservative lady and absolutely pro-business. In 1990, she was asked pre-cisely the same question by a British journalist: What good is it if we the British were to give you democracy now only to see the Chinese demolish it after their course source in 1007? And Hong Kong to be accountable to the people of Hong Kong. That is the best way to have a governor who will really answer, was, "If we the people of Hong

Martin Lee, chairman of the United Labor Party toyed with the idea until bat for Hong Kong and not the British Kong are prepared to take the risk, why emocrats of Hong Kong, received the recently, when they saw they had some interests. O. Are you sure that the majority of

the people of Hong Kong would be willing to take that risk? A. Ob ves. Polls are taken regularly. People have been seeing the whole world

going in that direction. Even Russia, the big brother of China, has disowned communism. They want democracy. They My second answer to you is that you

mustn't assume that China will necessarily dismantle democracy. It is one thing to say, "I will not accept this, come 1997," and another to actually demolish it when it is working well and is seen to be working well by the whole world, including our business people here. In theory, China could send troops into Hong Kong today. But how likely is it? If that should happen, Hong Kong would become a barren rock with 6 million people on it. Q. In a crunch, do you expect the United States and the Europeans to support democracy bere?

A. I don't see why not because it would be very difficult for them not to. It goes

against the grain for them too to. Question is; How much would they actually do if it is still denied to us? Q. Are you concerned about what may

happen to you personally after 1997? A. In theory, yes, Anything can happen to me or to members of my family. But I don't think anything will. To be fair, China has improved. In 1966-67, we had pro-China riots here inspired by the Red Guards. There was one guy who cousistently criticized these people. He was working with the commercial radio here. A very brave man. They threw a fire bomb and killed him in a car. This sort of thing will never happen again.

Q. Vietnamese officials recently asked for money to help defray the costs of absorbing returning boat people from Hong Kong Do you think Britain and Hong Kong should pay to facilitate the

forced return of Vietnamese refugees?

A. I think Britain should pay because that is the responsibility of the sovereign state. We should give much better treat-ment to these poor people who are here, but why should we pay? It is for the British government to pay.

In South Africa, Direst Poverty Is Out of Sight (and Mind)

By Christopher S. Wren

New York Times Service JANE FURSE, South Africa -Joseph Tease, 30, did not own a bed until a few weeks ago, when he inherited the hand-me-down frame and mattress sagging against the pounded-earth floor of his otherwise harren home here.

"My sister once worked in Johannesburg," Mr. Tease said. "She gave me the bed. She got it from her

Mr. Tease is one among millions of black South Africans struggling to survive amid a wretched and pervasive rural poverty that is all but invisible from the prosperous white towns and even from growing black townships with their own patterns of want.

President Frederik W. de Klerk's efforts to dismantle apartheid have done nothing to improve conditions in impoverished regions like as routine as the diseases it inflicts. the black bomeland of Lebowa, where Mr. Tease and his family

In South Africa, the rural poor are born, live and die without electricity, telephones, plumbing or tap

Many are forced toutinely to scavenge for edible plants and firewood and can spend several hours a day in the search of water.

Since 1986, when the white government in Pretoria repealed laws restricting the movement of blacks, millions desperate for work have fled the countryside for the shantytowns around the cities. But away from the urban centers, those left behind scratch out the barest subsistence to cal.

More than half of black South Africans live in the countryside and form a potentially formidable constituency once blacks get the vote.

Yet they have been ignored. The government, whose National Party is canvassing for black support elsewhere, lifted restrictions on land ownership but has been slow to upgrade rural conditions.

The African National Congress wants these ostensibly self-governing homelands dismantled, but its support base lies in the urban townships, and Congress officials seldom visit backwaters like

By Keith B. Richburg

Washington Post Service
MOGADISHU, Somalia —

Measured against the daily vio-lence in this battle-scarred capital.

it was a quiet day at Ben Adir Hospital. One youngster arrived

with his fingers blown off by a grenade. Two children were burned

over most of their bodies in an

explosion. There were shrapuel-

The shelling bad been light, with

only a few rounds of artillery ex-

changed around noon. There was

an eerie air of normality, with a few

street vendors hawking cigarettes,

mangoes, bananas, even some

But the calm was only a momen-

tary respite from the orgy of brutal-

of white villas into an urban night-

19 Holen's

25 Canvas

27 Australian

31 Male swan

34 Rascals

37 Astern

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Solution to Puzzle of Jan. 10

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ity that has turned a seaside capital

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15 'Call Me -

post-apartheid government about to be structured in constitutional talks can make much difference to

people so marginalized.
Mike Muller, a senior policy analyst at the Development Bank of Southern Africa, predicted in April that the rural poor would get poor-er unless a determined effort was made to draw them back into the

"A pessimistic but realistic vision of tomorrow's rural South Africa is of a growing, welfare-depen-dent population which outnumbers small farmers," Mr. Muller wrote in Business Day, a financial news-

Hunger is no stranger to Africa, but it is associated with disasters like drought in Ethiopia or war in

Mr. Tease's grandmother Raesebe, who sleeps on the floor in a worn blanket, suffers from pellagra, a chronic vitamin deficiency that has scarred ber skin and reduced ber to a vacant listlessness.

The household dreams are illustrated by a color newspaper advertisement hanging on the wall like a rare painting. It shows pictures of cheap crockery and kitchenware that the Teases cannot afford. Mr. Tease worked at construc-

tion jobs until be began suffering epileptic seizures. In any case, the jobs dried up in Lebowa. Now Josepb and Raesebe Tease depend on charity for their meals. They are among the 1.8 million South Africans fed daily by Operation Hunger, an independent charity. A survey of poverty across South

Africa published in 1989 by two University of Cape Town academics, Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele, determined that 81 percent of blacks in rural homelands like Lebowa lived below the poverty line, which has been set as \$180 a month for a family.

In the case of people like Mr. Tease and his grandmother, even the poverty line is far beyond their reach, and it is unlikely that they see \$180 in a year.

"South Africa has one of the most unequal distributions of in-

pending famine, Residents talk ca-sually of the shelling, which is in its eighth week; no one thinks it will

Two men are largely responsible

for the death and destruction being

rained oo chaotic Mogadishu. One

claims to be president, although he

has no real power and is confined to a few city blocks — and although

the country be supposedly rules has

in many ways ceased to exist. The

other is an army general seeking to

Both claim to represent democ-

Both are stubborn and uncom-

Since Nov. 17, when their verbal

war crupted into a shooting war,

the capital has been caught in the

racy, saying they are trying to pre-vent Somalia from returning to the

dark days of dictatorship.

40 Solitary

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end soon.

ter Barend du Plessis said in March. "But even more disturbing are the millions of South Africans who have to make do with pitifully

Mr de Klerk has earmarked more than \$1 billion to improve their lives but that has yet to trickle down to the ethnic homelands.

In its earlier drive to exclude blacks from areas reserved for whites, the government set aside marginal land for homelands like Lebowa, which is splattered in a half-dozen pieces across the north-

hammed, the interim president.

There is no economic entity

prevailing in this country," be said last week. "Everything has col-lapsed. Anarchy is prevailing. With

no police or military, it is very diffi-

The conversation was repeatedly

A presidential aide said that the

modest villa was safe for the time being. Besides, he said, at least

some of the explosions were caused

by outgoing artillery shells, headed

across town. The president himself

"As a Muslim," he said, "I know

Beyond barricades of tires and

di Mohammed's antagonist

twisted metal and a stretch of high-

way called no-man's-land, Mr.

drowned out by the thud of artil-

cult to run the country."

said he was not afraid.

my fate is predestined."

a Kind of acid

4 Chantable

people

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9 She let down

her hair

in Eliot's Bede

11 Watercourse

12 Final word

15 City in Ga.

21 Iowa State U.

28 Pressing need?

29 German article

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dance as Thematic letters

surgery com
40 Joe Louis is one 48 Burns

20 Smallest

24 Obstruct

26 Hidden

30 Twist

justify its apartheid policy of separate development by granting what it disingenuously claimed to be self-government and in some cases independence" to the homelands.

With talks soon schednled to begin on a constitution for a nonracial South Africa, the prospective status of the bornelands remains vague, though there appears to be some general agreement on their legal reintegration into the country. Lebowa, which was designated

In the 1970s, Pretoria sought to origin, is one of the poorest home-ustify its apartheid policy of sepa-lands.

Anah Diago, 51, is going blind as she raises seven children. Adele Makheni, wheezing from chronic asthma, sleeps with her four children on the floor. Lucy Busimikwena, 18, struggles to complete school while caring for nine or-phaned brothers and sisters.

"If we don't have money, we just stay without anything to eat," said Hiyane Maghtsela, a sun-leathered, as a putatively self-governing but barefoot old woman who lives near not "independent" homeland for the Lebowan village of Maila Mapeople of northern Sotho or Pedi

In Lebowa, some people will work all day in return for a bowl of commeal. Without food at home, said Frans Themba, a field worker for Operation Hunger, young chil-dren hire themselves out as hands on white-owned farms just across the "borders" of the homeland.

Mr. Themba recalled one 12year-old girl who brought bome a week-old baby, which she left with her grandmother before beading back to the farm. Mr. Themba said that when the girl was asked why she was rushing to the farm, she tearfully replied, "But what am I



SIMON'S SOUNDS END THE SILENCE — Fans cheering the singer Paul Simon as he began a South African tour in Johannesburg Jespite minor protests. Mr. Simon became the first international star to perform in South Africa since a cultural boycott ended last year.

presided in a roomier, heavily forti-fied villa that had the air of a mili-tary command center.

di Mohammed clings precariously to his position. And the president has responded in turn, shelling ar-

did offered a soft-spoken explana- Aidid.

tion for the high level of violence in

"Traditionally, Somali people love three things," be said. "One is

keeping small arms with them. An-

other is their camel. And finally

Somalia, he said, did not need

outside intervention to solve the

ongoing conflict because he himself

was "already taking action to solve

We prefer to solve our own

Seeing the president as the prob-

lem, the general's solution has been

a releatiess barrage on the northern

section of the city, where Mr. Mah-

their horse. Somalis love horses."

adult and child is armed.

our problem."

O New York Times, edited by Eugene Maleska.

53 Italian Socialist

SS Feel

58 Scraggy

SS Grafe

compassion

58 Danube feeder

as Kind of cross

so Signs

52 Theater

Holyfield

48 Scandinavian

problems," he said.

General Mohammed Farrah Ai- eas controlled by General Farrah

President vs. General, and Somalis Pay the Price **UN Ends Plan**

Last week, the crowded Ben Adir

"Maybe we missed and killed

The duel has been played out

brutally. The two men have carved

up the city into warring camps.

Artillery shells bave wrecked

streets and buildings. Burned-out

cars litter largely empty highways. In the absence of authority, armed

militias have taken to roaming the

streets in jeeps equipped with rockets, mortars and anti-aircraft guns.

shu, and the highway is marked by holes from which scavengers have

removed underground cables. Water and fuel are scarce. An estimat-

ed 300,000 people have fled to outlying areas to escape the carnage.

The city is on the edge of famine, according to the few relief workers

The human toll of the violence

of medicine of the Somali National

University, said the hospital re

ceived between 40 and 100 casual-

ies," he said. "Shelling only hurts civilians. That's not war."

"War should be between militar-

Like virtually all Somalis, he has

He called General Farrah Aidid

"a psychopath" who would estab-

chosen sides in this seemingly in-

comprehensible conflict.

ousted a year ago.

another dictator in."

There is no electricity in Mogadi-

some civilians," he said. "I'm very

president offered an apology.

sorry about that."

who remain.

ties a day.

To Protect Those

New York Times Service WASHINGTON - An anti-pa racy program intended to protect Vietnamese refugees from attacks in the Gulf of Thailand has been chased out by the United Nations

Responsibility for policing the seas where, since 1975, thousands

million needed to keep the program alive since its inception in 1982, after a year of extreme violence In 1981, 1,444 attacks on refuge

can be seen at hospitals and makeshift clinics, on both sides of the capital. So far, the war has left an been raped. estimated 5,000 people dead and 10,000 wounded. Mogadishu is suffering from an acute shortage of even the most basic medical sup-Mahdi Mohammed side has treated about 3,575 people since Nov. 17. Abdullahi Sheikh Hussein, dean

> Kuwait Lifts Censorship In Advance of Elections

lish another military dictatorship like that of Siad Barre, who was Kuwaiti press, which is considered liberal in Middle Eastern terms, "We have kicked out one general" he said. "We don't want to put

WORLD BRIEFS

Chile Ordered to Pay Letelier Family

WASHINGTON (Reuters)—The families hurt by the 1976 assassination of the former Chilean ambassador to the United States, Orlando Letelier, will receive \$2.6 million from the Chilean government, the State

Letelier, will receive 5.20 immon from the Chilean government, the State Department has announced.

The payment, established by a five-member international commission, will go to the families of Mr. Letelier and his American associate, Ronnie Moffitt, who was killed with the ambassador in the car bombing.

This decision helps bring to a close a matter that has been a source of This decision heavy governments for many years," the State Department spokesman, Margaret D. Tuwiler, said in a statement late Saturment spokesman, Mangaret D. Lurwier, said in a statement late Saturday. Mr. Letelier, who had served as foreign and defense minister in the government of President Salvador Allende, was an outspoken critic of General Augusto Pinochet, who took power in a 1973 coup in which Mr.

Gun Ban Is Imposed in Philippines

MANILA (Reuters) — The Philippines imposed a gun ban Sunday, hoping to avert another bloody general-election season in a nation of

violent politics.

To ensure peace before and during the May 11 voting, the Commission on Elections banned the carrying of firearms outside residences, ordered mobile checkpoints and barred politicians from keeping private armies. The ban covers 430,000 licensed civilian gun owners and the Philippines' the oan covers above when they are off duty.

The poll watchdog body will also set limits on campaign expenses to try

The poll waterdog overy war amount urings on campaign expenses to try to carb vote-buying by politicians. The going rate in the 1986 election, when Corazon C. Aquino challenged Ferdinand E. Marcos for the presidency, was 50 pesos (\$1.85) per vote. More than 25 million Filipinos are expected to vote in the elections to choose a successor to Mrs. Aquino:

Kenya Charges 2 Over Coup Rumors

NAIROBI (Reuters) — Former Vice President Josephar Karanja of Kenya and a former member of Parliament, Matu Wamae, have been charged with spreading unfounded and malicious rumors of an impend-

charged with spreading unfounded and malicious rumors of an impend-ing military coup, Kenyan radio reported on Sunday.

The radio quoted a senior police officer as stating that the two, who were arrested on Saturday, would appear in court soon on charges of spreading rumors intended to cause unrest, fear, despondency and alarm. Mr. Karanja, a former high commissioner in London and former vice chancellor of Nairobi University, and Mr. Wamae were among a group of leaders of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy who publicized the rumors - promptly denied by the government - at a news confer-

Cuba Sentences 3 to Die for Sedition

MEXICO CTTY (AP) - Three Miami men accused of trying to invade Cuba and start a rebellion against President Fidel Castro have been sentenced to death by firing squad, the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina

The men - Eduardo Diaz Betaneourt, 38; Daniel Candelario Santovenia, 36; and Pedro de la Caridad Alvárez Pedroso, 26 — were arrested Dec. 29 near Jucaro on the coast northeast of Havana and charged with sabotage, subversive propaganda and terrorism, the Mexican press agency Notimex said. Cuban state radio said the men told authorities that they had sailed from Marathon in the Florida Keys aboard a yacht, then took a motorboat to the Cuban shoreline.

The sentences are to be reviewed early this week. A statement received in Miami said the men belonged to an ami-Castro group, previously unknown, called Rescue. It threatened retaliation if they are executed.

TRAVEL UPDATE

The Scandinavian airline SAS is to return 53 McDonneil Douglas MD-80 planes to the manufacturer for changes, following the crash landing last month of one of its jets, the Svenska Dagbladet newspaper reported. The paper said SAS was seeking modificatious in the wings of its jetliners aimed at preventing ice from forming on them. On Dec. 27, 21 people were injured, two seriously, when an SAS airliner was forced to make a crash landing shortly after takeoff because firel cooled by the aircraft's crash landing shortly after takeoff because fuel, cooled by the aircraft's wings, failed to reach the engines.

Indian air-traffic controllers plan a phased slowdown, starting Thurs-

day, to press for better night-duty allowances and improved working conditions, a union spokesman said.

U.S. nationals in Burma have been urged by the State Department to use caution because of political unrest there and be aware of the national airway's poor safety record. "Travel to Burma is for the adventuresom a department advisory said.

Singapore Airlines said Sunday that it would resume flights to Vietnam in February, after a break of nearly 17 years, as a step toward strengthenconomic links between the two countries

Department of Agriculture biologists shot 15,000 laughing gulls near Kennedy International Airport in New York last year in an effort to reduce airplane-gull collisions. They plan to resume the program during the spring breeding season, a prospect that angers conservationists and

This Week's Holidays

The Weather

North America

Flain will soak the Atla Seaboard Tuesd

Ham was Seaboard Tuesday, or Wednesday will turn city, in but windy in the north. The strate cold wave in some time will invade the Midwarst by Wednesday along with snow or Burnles in Chicago. California will have

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Togo. WEDNESDAY: Japan, Sri Lanks. SUNDAY: Iran.

Source: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

Asia

From Kitakyushu to Tokyo, Japan will be brisk and mainly dry Tuesday. Rain is possible by early Thursday. It will be cool, cloudy, and maybe rainy from Hong Kong to Taipel with Wednesday. Along with sun, a shower may visit in Bingapore and Manilla.

LOW WX High LOW WX

Fleeing Vietnam

High Commissioner for Refogees because the attacks have all but ceased in the last 18 months.

of Vietnamese refugees have been robbed, raped, killed or drowned when their boats were attacked, will now rest with the Thai Navy. Officials in the United States say Washington will be watching the situation closely. The United States paid about \$16 million of the \$25

boats were reported in the Gulf of Thailand and nearby waters, ac-cording to the UN refugee agency. Of the 71,667 "boat people" known to have fled Vietnam that year, 961 were reported killed, 257 taken hostage and 857 women said they had

As late as 1989, 762 Vietnamese or Cambodian refugees were re-ported killed or missing at sea, but U.S. and UN officials say that a decision was made in November to end the program because there had been no reported attacks on Viet-namese refugee boats since July 1990. The program was ended with the new year.

KUWAIT (AFP) - Kuwait is lifting press censorship that has been in force for more than five years, the official press agency KUNA announced Sunday. Censorship was imposed on the

amid the upheaval that accompanied the dissolution of parliament

Europe

EUrope

Areas of thick log and low cloudiness may pensist into midweek from London and Paris to Milan. No significant rain or snow will tell. Little or no rain is foreseen through Wednesday from Pome to Liston and Madrid. Mornings may be loggy.

Wooing the Middle Class: The Presidential Hopefuls Know Where the Votes Are

By Robin Toner
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The huge group of voters known as "middle-class America" is about to be courted with a vengeance as the 1992 presidential campaign gets under

Both parties are trying to calibrate their language, their policy proposals and their messages to show their concern for the middle income American with a family, a house in the suburbs, a sense of economic alarm and a feeling that the politicians do not care.

To be sure, the invocation of "middle-class values" and economic concerns is a standard feature of political campaigns; to paraphrase Willie Sutton's explanation of why he had robbed banks, that is where the votes are.
What is striking this year is the recognition, in both
parties, that these voters [cel an especially sharp sense of betrayal and anger.

The five major candidates for the Democratic nomina-tion are scrambling to cast themselves as the candidates best able to restore the American dream to "the forgotten middle class," as Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas describes it in his new television commercial in New

The Democratic candidates are talking about national health-care plans, tax cuts for the middle-income group, expanded college loan programs and a host of other measures aimed at a broad swath of people squeezed by

For his part, President George Bush is apparently preparing a new budget that will offer tax credits to help people buy health insurance, tax benefits for first-time home buyers and a series of other measures aimed at showing his concern for working families.

Republican strategists say they will not make the mistakes their party made in losing the Pennsylvania Senate race last year, when the Democrats hammered at

and the Republicans responded only in the final days. Many strategists shy away from defining the term "middle class," noting that income guidelines fail to take into account such variables as the number of children in family or the local cost of living.

Moreover, part of the political magic of the term is that most Americans, black and white, consider themselves part of the middle class, according to some publicopinion polls.
Paul Tully, political director of the Democratic Na-

tional Committee, thinks of a critical "middle class" voter as a suburbanite, in a household with about \$35,000 income, younger than 45, with a child or two. and in a marriage in which both partners work.

James Carville, a Democratic strategist working for Mr. Clinton and an architect of the Democratic victory

in Pennsylvania, talks of a "32-year-old with two kids in day care who works in some suburban office huilding."

Robert D. Reischauer, head of the Congressional Budget Office, views the middle class as the middle 60 percent of Americans by income, which for a family of four would be from \$19,000 to \$78,000. He adds, however, that attitudes can be as telling as income: "Most people think of the lifestyle they can afford, the amount of discretionary income."

In this struggle for the middle-income voter, each party has some haggage to unload. The Republicans have to fight the perception that they care most about the rich; the Democrats have to make the case that they are neady to lead again, and counter a decade of charges that they are addicted to big-spending government programs and care most about the poor.

Today, some poll takers say, the middle class feels neglected by the entire system.

"Probably the single biggest point of consensus among voters today is that the middle class is ignored by the

political system and paying a steep economic price for L" said Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic poll taker. Many Democratic strategists say that they have learned from their mistakes in the 1980s, when middleclass voters defected in droves as Republicans portrayed the Democrats, again and again, as a party outside the

Values were an important part of the Republicans' appeal to middle-income voters, many strategists say. This year, in addition to their economic promises, the Democratic candidates talk often of their party's commitment to the traditional values of hard work, personal responsibility and patriotism.

Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa, for example, talks of his small-town roots and the values it gave him. Senator Boh Kerrey of Nebraska talks of the yearning of parents that their children surpass them. Mr. Clinton talks of the need for greater personal responsibility in welfare programs and corporate suites.



STAMP ACT — One of 30 proposed renderings for an Elvis Presley commemorative stamp to be issued in January 1993. The U.S. Postal Service will decide on two final candidates, but the public will determine which one the stamp bears. The likenesses will be on 3 million postcards distributed to post offices nationwide; customers can check their preference and mail the cards to the service.

AMERICAN

To Take Off or Abort? Helping Pilot Decide

The airliner roars down the runway but something's not right. The pilot has seconds to make a life-or-death choice — take off or

abort? A new system tells the pilot which is the

Engineers at the Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administra-tion in Langley, Virginia, have developed a system that computes all the factors relative to takeoff. It shows when a problem reduces acceleration and tells, a pilot whether he should continue the takeoff or stop. James W. Leland, a retired air force pilot, has indepen-

dently developed and patented a similar sys-tem be estimates would sell for \$10,000. But don't expect either device on your next commercial flight. Airplane manufacturers say it would cause too many unnecessary aborted takeoffs. And an aborted takeoff at high speed can also cause accidents.

Washington Post Service SAN SALVADOR — The Sal-

vadoran military, facing an uncer-

tain future as a peacetime force under civilian scrutiny, has an-

nounced a shake-up that swept aside several top officers who had

been criticized by the United States

The action stopped short, how-

and human rights groups as abu-

sive and inent.

member of the Airworthiness and Performance Committee of the Airline Pilots Association. "We have to basically guess whether to go or to stop. That's not a good situation

for commercial aviation." NASA researchers said they had found no company willing to manufacture their device. Mr. Leland said he was also turned down.

Short Takes

A woman whose son was slain by a serial sex killer has been awarded \$5 billion by a jury in Kansas City, Missouri. The finding means the murderer will never profit from his crimes, the woman's lawyer, Martin Meyer, said, adding that the award might be the largest ever in a wrongful-death case. His client, Betty Ann Haste, had sued Robert Berdella, 42, who is serving a life sentence for murdering her son, Todd. Mr. Meyer said that there was no hope of Mrs. Haste's collecting \$5 billion, but that the verdict would enable her to go after \$55,000 the killer has in

a trust fund and to lay claim to any future income he might get.

Admitting to six murders from 1984 to 1987, he has talked about writing a book or selling the movie rights to his story, Mr.

Jalls are becoming cleaner, safer and qu overdue," said Don Cornwall, a pilot and | er thanks to a new technique called direct

El Salvador Sifts Out 'Abusive' Officers

supervision. The method — which means no violence, no noise, no graffiti — has been around for several years but is just now catching on. The rationale is simple: A prison officer with intensive training in getting along with people is locked in with the inmates while they pass their daytime hours in a large common room. The officers, as in traditional prisons for guards who are in direct contact with inmates, are unarmed. But in traditional jails, inmates are left alone most of the time to try to work out - or to fight over everything from who controls the television to who protects the weak. Prisoners like the new system, too, because they spend less time

Largely because of lobbying by American Indians, Coogress last year voted to rename the Custer Battlefield National Monument in Montana the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument. But this was not Custer's last stand. The Chamber of Commerce of New Rumley. Ohio, where George Armstrong Custer was born in 1838, has started to raise money to build a museum alongside the present larger-than-lifesize monument of the general. Officials of the depressed town say they hope the museum will become an attrac-tion for tourists whether they favor Custer or the Indians or have no particular preference.

TV Shows Fuller Tape Of Bush's Collapse

TOKYO - Graphic television images of President George Bush collapsing at a Tokyo hanquet ran for the first time on Japanese televi-sion Sunday after being shown Sat-

urday evening in the United States. The Japanese broadcasting com-pany NHK, which previously had shown only footage beginning shortly after Mr. Bush was taken ill at Prime Minister Kiicbi Miyazawa's sesidence on Wednesday, broadcast an earlier sequence from the same film Sunday on its evening news.

The sequence, taken by an unmanned camera set up facing the head table at the hanquet, showed a seated Mr. Bush nod his head and

After a break - to pass over what a reporter who saw the entire film said showed the president vomiting - the film picked up Mr. Bush's wife, Barbara, hurrying to wipe her husband's mouth and an aide leaping over the table to help

In the United States, ABC News broadcast the same version of the videolape.

ABC officials in New York said that until The Washington Post reported the existence of footage showing the entire episode of Mr. Bush's collapse, the only tape they were aware of was the one that had been broadcast initially by NHK, showing Mr. Bush after he had fallen from his chair.

But because of ABC's cooperative arrangement with NHK, a monitor in ABC's Tokyo hureau taped the entire broadcast of the

"It was NHK's camera that was rolling," said Daphne Polatty. ABC spokeswoman in Washing-ton. The picture that was being broadcast was taped by our Tokyo bureau." An NHK spokesman has confirmed that one of its cameras had been left on after reporters and cameramen were told to leave the When Mr. Bush was taken ill, he

said, the incident was captured on film that passed automatically to the NHK control room, and the unedited footage was apparently relayed bye to four foreign net-works — ABC, ITN of Britain, ARD of Germany and KBS of South Korea.

The spokesman said he did not know if networks other than ABC were recording at the time.

was unable to ohtain a copy of the tape directly from NHK, the ABC Tokyo hureau began to screen unmarked rolls of tape from the week. She said the hureau would have taped anything broadcast by NHK because of its arrangement with the Japanese network.

that swept the world on Wednes-

Mr. Bush's health has been an issue of public concern since he was taken to a hospital in May with an irregular heartbeat, later found to have been caused by a thyroid problem. (Reuters, WP)

Pentagon Plans Troop DNA Bank New York Times Service

Samples of DNA, the hasic material of heredity, will be obtained from blood samples and oral swabs. The samples will be added to existing fingerprint, dental and other records to produce a more comprehensive way of identifying the remains of war dead, the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, which proposed the initiative.

The establishment of this repository may very well mean that we dence, I think I'd be good at anything I set out

Laboratory.

A Dose of Glasnost for the CIA?

Agency Panel Urges Declassifying Many Documents

By Elaine Sciolino New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - A panel established by the director of central intelligence, Robert M. Gates, in explore ways to lift the veil of secrecy at the agency bas recommended declassifying vast quantities of older documents and making agency officials more accessible to the Intelligence officials say the in-

ternal panel has sent Mr. Gates a list of options that also include more on-the-record interviews, public speeches and public testimony to Congress by senior agency officials, as well as the release of new material to complement the current publication of maps, world fact books and economic reports.

The study group, the Openness Task Force, is one of about a dozen that Mr. Gates set up soon after taking office in November to study ways to reorganize the intelligence bureaucracy. Among the aims were to eliminate duplication, to give the White Hnuse and other policymaking agencies sharper reports on world developments and to ensure that the reports were not slanted

The internal soul-searching stems from the pragmatic concern that in a world where the traditional enemy has ceased to exist, the intelligence community must justiits billion-dollar satellites and thousands of analysts and spies.

for political purposes,

Under the openness panel's most sweeping recommendation, the

CIA would declassify millions of review of the rigid system under pages of documents, some of them dating to World War I, and would publish a comprehensive inventory of materials available to the public,

The officials who spoke about the panel's recommendations did not say how recent the declassified documents would be, or whether some categories of older docu-ments would still be withheld.

perhaps via computer data hases.

Mr. Gates is expected to make his decision on the recommendations of this and the other study groups at the end of the month. A strong proponent of more openness during his Senate confirmation hearings, be is likely to accept

many of the proposals.

But it is not clear how quickly the agency could carry them nut. Declassification would require a substantial infusion of manpower at a time when the agency is cutting back its work force from the current level, estimated at 20,000 peo-

Mr. Gates previewed the new trend during his Senate confirma-tion hearings in September, when he said that the CIA and its sister intelligence agencies needed to debetter popular understandmg and support" through "greater

In a blunt admission, be said that the intelligence agencies "must change and be seen to change, or confront irrelevance and growing sentiment for their dismember-

Mr. Gates also suggested a broad

which government documents are routinely classified, often with little regard to whether their disclosure would damage national security, and thereby relegated to the black

bole of secrecy.

Congressional efforts in recent years to make public the total amount of moncy spent on intelli-gence — widely believed to be about \$30 billion — have failed. In his testimany, Mr. Gates ac-

knowledged that the steps required for greater openness were likely to be "painful and controversial." Even the issue of revealing the budget figure is "very controversial" within the CIA, he said, because it is widely felt that such a revelation would only whet the appetite for

more information. Some agency officials have expressed concern that a move towards openness can only widen what Mr. Gates himself has described as the "very real" divide between the analytical side of the agency and the operations side, which conducts activities in the field. These officials argue that there are real limits to just how public the intelligence world can become without exposing sources.

"The hasic problem is and has always been that there remains a natural clash between the desire to get out information while at the same time protect human sources and keep secret the methods by which the information was obtained," a veteran intelligence offi-

U.S. Widens Food Irradiation

Debate Is Rekindled on Technique to Extend Shelf Life

The process works because co-

balt-60 emits gamma rays, which

are highly energetic and can knock

electrons off atoms inside fruit,

vegetables or meat. This destabi-

lizes life's master-molecule, DNA.

crippling and eventually killing

bacteria. The rays also retard matu-

ration by altering cells that release

chemicals causing food to ripen

The strawberries spent 57 min-

utes in the chamber, pirouetting slowly around the cobalt-60. Then

the wands descended back into the

water, and the gamma rays instant-

ly disappeared. They do not linger

and do not make food radioactive.

journey to an undisclosed store.

their shelf life extended from days

"You drive a forklift, turn a key

and lock a door - that's food irra-

diation," said Harley Everett, exec-

utive vice president of Vindicator.

Nothing inside the plant can

melt down. Nothing nuclear can

blow up. Mr. Everett said that if the

tank water leaked, the water would

not be radioactive because cobalt-

60 is not water soluble. But to keep

it from inadvertently irradiating

people or things, the cobalt-60

Critics of the procedure say they will keep an around-the-clock vigil

in Mulberry and would alert col-

leagues elsewhere that shipments of

irradiated food are coming their

must remain covered by water.

It's a total no-brainer."

The strawberries continued their

and ultimately rot.

By William Booth Washington Post Service

fruit in the gamma-ray glow of ra-dioactive cobalt-60 before shipping deep pool of water, carrying 40 to sell irradiated goods.

The Food and Drue A the berries to an undisclosed

been the subject of angry debate and intense research. Thousands of laboratory rats have been fed a mountain of irradiated food to test its safety, and there have been dozens of hearings, reports and investi-

The technique is generally hailed by food researchers and the government as a safe way to slow spoilage and kill disease-causing organisms that poison poultry, pork and

It is approved in 32 countries. including Britain, France, Germany, Israel and Japan, and has been endorsed by the United Nations World Health Organization and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization.

But a small number of anti-nuclear campaigners and opponents of food irradiation in the United States says the process is too unsafe or uncertain for widespread use. Some are threatening to chain themselves to the gates of the Vindicator Inc. plant here, or to follow and boycott food leaving the plant.

"Why are we taking such a huge risk with such a frivolous technology?" said Michael Colby, director of Food & Water, a New Yorkbased group dedicated to stopping food irradiation, "I think it's a trav-

Anni-nuclear campaigners say irradiation changes the nature of food and creates chemicals that cause cancer and hirth defects. Almost all academic and government food researchers deny that.

"We baven't found a thing wrong with it," said Dean Cliver of the Food Research Institute at the University of Wisconsin. "Those of us who have studied irradiation and have eaten irradiated foods would like to be able to buy it at the grocery store. They don't have to eat the stuff. But I want the option.

It's safe." At the new \$8 million Vindicator plant, an 1.100-pound (500-kilogram) pallet of berries was unloaded from a truck Friday for the first voyage and placed on a conveyor carrying it into a chamber surrounded by concrete walls 6 feet (1.83 meters) thick.

No one is allowed in the bunker

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during irradiation. If an intruder way. Protests and boycotts, they foiled motion detectors or other say, will follow. security precautions, exposure to cobalt-60 could cause death. When

Anti-irradiation camapigners have temporarily persuaded at least the strawberries were locked inside two major grocery chains and sevthe chamber, a rack rose from a eral prominent food processors not

The Food and Drug Administration has approved irradiation for whole foods, including fruits, vegetables, poultry and seafood. Spices bave been irradiated for years in plants used for sterilizing hospital gowns, surgical gloves, bandages and other items.

Ex-Mayor Sent To Prison With Higher Security

WASHINGTON - The former mayor of Washington, Marion S. Barry Jr., has been transferred to a medium-security federal prison in Loretto, Pennsylvania, a prison spokesman said. Mr. Barry's lawyers said the transfer apparently was punishment for his alleged sexual misconduct with a woman in a visiting room.

Mr. Barry was taken on Friday evening from the minimum-security federal prison camp in Petersburg, Virginia, in leg irons and handcuffs at-tached to a waist chain, according to a prison employee, who asked not to be identified. Daniel Dunne, a spokesman for the Bureau of Prisons in Washington, declined to acknowledge any disciplinary action against Mr. Barry.

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rooted in personal experience. He says he was

has been a long, dark journey. That is not a fair description. It's been a wonderful opportunity and a wonderful job and I thoroughly enjoy it."

think he was deeply committed to the New Right standards." ways appears ringed with political calculus. Within the family, Iriends said, he is subjected to semiserious rebukes for "liberal tendencies"

A vital link with the right is his chief of staff. William Kristol, 36, the son of the neoconservative author Irving Kristol and the historian Gertrude Himmelfarb. As well-connected to Washington's conservative think tank-political-

tes, who had been the infantry bri- year under the peace accord and gade commander in San Salvador, will be replaced by an all-civilian was named delegate to a regional force.

past were removed from powerful troop commands. Colonel Francisco Elena Fuen- al police force is to be dissolved this

try's 12-year-old civil war, the association for Central American armed forces are to be vetted startarmies based in Guatemala. ing later this year by a three-mem-ber civilian committee to weed out Colonel Ciro López Roque, whose competence had been chalcorrupt, abusive and inept officers.

lenged by U.S. advisers, was removed from his post in eastern El In the shake-up, which was announced Saturday, two officers sin-gled out for U.S. criticism in the cral of the national police. Although that police agency now falls under the armed forces, the nation-

ever, of removing several officers criticized as hard-liners. New Year's Eve to end the com-QUAYLE: A Shortage of Moral Weight, Maybe, but Not of Ambition

The armed forces, funded largely by U.S. military aid, have moved

slowly to purge officers accused of

corruption and incompetence de-

spite behind-the-scenes U.S. pres-

U.S. advisers have insisted that

they wield little influence in shap-

ing the Salvadoran military hierar-

chy. But critics have rejected that

view, pointing to \$1 billion in U.S.

aid to the armed forces since 1980.

Under the peace accord signed

are far more skeptical about Mr. Quayle's readiness. They said that although his staffs have been studded with exceptionally bright aides, Mr. Quayle's mind is anything but rigorous. They described him as someone who relies

on oral briefings, seems to retain little from

what he reads and often gives the impression

that he is satisfied with a surface brush-by that

barely reaches beyond the bumper-sticker level of sophistication. Mr. Quayle is less a man of ideas than he is a tactician who relies on his "people amarts" to gain a competitive edge and achieve his goals. "You do the policy, I'll do the politics," he told Robert M. Guttman, when be hired the Library of Congress professional as his top

domestic assistant in the Senate. The quality of Mr. Quayle's political judgment wins him respect inside the administra-tion. Former White House chief of staff John -H. Sununu and his successor, Mr. Skinner, said they had relied on Mr. Quayle's assessments of the congressional and national scene.

Mr. Sununu described Mr. Quayle as "some body that we go to for a reality check" and "for a political check, for a substance and policy check." Mr. Skinner added: "He can do it in a clinical way, not an emotional way." By his own testimony and that of staff nides, - Mr. Quayle absorbs more substantive information through his ears than through his eyes. He attributes that to his 12 years in Congress,

where most information comes, he said, "orally, through hearings and briefings," than by reading. He and his aides said he can readily recall what he has heard. When Mr. Mondale offered Mr. Quayle some suggestions on the vice presidency after the 1988 election, he said he emphasized one

point: "Don't trivialize yourself." You are the heir apparent to the presidency." he said. "Stay on the big issues." Mr. Quayle has done that - to a point He meets daily with the president when they are both in Washington and is part of virtually all the decision-making meetings. But he does not appear to carry great weight in these discus-

Mr. Quayle's emphasis on family values is

argues that there can be no absolute barrier

between church and state. "You can't separate ethics from public policy," he told a Methodist group last summer.
"You can't separate morality and good govern-

"I have to wonder how much better life would be today for millions of Americans, especially women and children left behind in

You do the policy, I'll do

the politics. Dan Quayle, to an assistant

poverty, if our churches had concentrated on personal morality instead of public policy."

Marilyn Quayle and many of the Quayles friends suggested that religious faith and a naturally upbeat disposition enabled Mr. Quayle to get through the 1988 campaign and the ridicule he has encountered as vice presi-

dent without any apparent resentment. The 1985 campaign included "a lot of pain" and "some very dark moments," Mr. Quayle said. But, he added, "I think what I sort of recoil against is that the whole vice presidency

Mr. Quayle is generally perceived as a com-mitted conservative. John Walda, his 1978 opponent for the House, called him a typical "anti-establishment, anti-government, trash-the-bureaucracy type." He added, "I really

But Mr. Quayle's conservatism almost alfrom his father, James Quayle, a former member of the far-right John Birch Society.

"raised in a Christian home, by a Christian journalistic network as anyone Mr. Quayle family." Like many others in public life, he argues that there can be no absolute barrier Quayle "instant credibility when be badly need-

ed it," according to one operative on the right.

Like many of the neoconservatives on his staff and among his outside advisers, Mr. Quayle is an ardent defender of Israel Although he says "the Jewish community in Indiana opposed me very vigorously in 1980," when he challenged the incumbent Democrat, Birch Bayh, be was a reliable vote for Israel in the Senate and is a favorite among American Jew-

ish organizations. . Mr. Quayle has been counted as an ally hy anni-abortion forces from the beginning of his career, but has never made the controversy a centerpiece of his own politics. When Senate Republican leaders urged him to join the Judi-ciary Committee, Mr. Quayle told them he did not want to spend his time wrestling with the

social-issue agenda. Asked about the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision, which established a constitutional right to abortion, he said recently, "I was never supportive of that decision myself be-cause I think it went a bit far." And he added, I would welcome it being overturned."

But he concluded, "My answer is political,

not judicial." Could a President Quayle "bring people to-gether?" Could be unite and lead Americans from the White House? Could he even satisfy his own contemporaries that in him, they would have a suitable spokesman and leader?

accept Mr. Rudman's judgment that he still lacks the moral authority to be president. There were probably very few presidents in our history that had the moral authority before they became president," he said, citing three victorious generals - George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant and Dwight D. Eisenhower -

as those who did. "Very few others," he said.

"You never know until you come to that

"had moral authority before they came in.

In a final interview, Mr. Quayle seemed to

what kind of a president you can be," Mr. Quayle said. "The individual doesn't even know. So you don't know? he was asked. "I think, because of my own inner confi-

MULBERRY, Florida batch of fresh strawberries has gone through the first U.S. foodirradiation plant, which bathed the

For years, food irradiation has

garions

scafood. Miss Polatty said that when ABC

The NHK tape recorder, which was not switched on until a few moments after Mr. Bush slumped to the floor, produced the images day. They showed Mr. Miyazawa cradling Mr. Bush's head and then the president being helped up and

walking shakily from the room. Doctors diagnosed stomach flu and said that Mr. Bush, 67, was fit enough to carry out a shortened program in Japan on Thursday be-

fore flying home Friday.

WASHINGTON - The Defense Department plans to estab-lish a repository of genetic information on all U.S. service members as a way of identifying future war casualues.

will no longer have an unknown soldier' from future battle casualties," said Major Victor Weedn of the army, chief of the institute's Armed Forces DNA Identification

Americans and Japanese

In the inevitable flurry over the political scoring of George Bush's trip to Japan, too little attention has been directed to an appreciation of the United States' relationship with Japan. For the fact is that notwithstanding the controversy over President Bush's role and performance as spokesman for the American auto industry. this connection remains the most important bilateral relationship in the world. These are the two largest market-oriented economies and democracies. How they cooperate or do not cooperate, and not just in trade but across the board, is of world interest. This was so before Mr. Bush went to Tokyo, and it is true after.

In past decades the American-Japanese interaction centered on economics, and it remains vital that the two countries ease the economic tensions still plaguing them —a task that looms larger after last week's talks between President Bush and Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa. Both sides are aware, bowever, of the need for overall adjustment - and not just to cushion economic shocks but to apply the resources of two giants to their own and the global good. Japan, accustomed since the war to an inward focus on domestic growth, has hesitated to expand its policy ambitions. But it is increasingly ready, partly at enlightened

American urging to try.

To both governments, the moment

seemed right last year. The then pending 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor offered a perfect occasion for symbolic reconciliation and renewal. An appropriately grand Tokyo declaration on the U.S.-Japan global partnership" was prepared. Recalling the comprehensive relationship that Washington had once sought with the old Soviet Union, the declaration committed the United States and Japan to move far beyond the tending of bilateral relations into broadscale cooperation on the global economy, peace and security, development and the environment and other concerns. But this visionary statement and the ma-

jor recalibration of roles that it embodied were thrust aside when an alarmed George Bush postponed his Asia trip and then, rescheduling it, abandoned statesmanship for a turn as an anto salesman and advocate of managed trade. The declaration was issued last week in Tokyo but almost as an afterthought. A long, hastily written, tacked-on section on "Auto and Auto Parts" (printed in the summit press release in a different format, containing typographical errors) took center stage.
In the loss of focus on the central bilater-

al relationship with Japan lies the real misfortune of the Bush trip. In the Tokyo declaration lie the large purposes to which both governments must somehow return.

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

America With Europe

Given the collapse of the Soviet Union, Washington is right to withdraw most of its military might from Western Europe. But Washington is wrong to walk away from its political and economic role in Europe, especially in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

The United States is largely conceding the urgent responsibility of East European economic reconstruction to Germany. That is a mistake. It allows a fear of German domination to spread among anxious neighbors. And even the robust German economy will not be able to meet the vast development needs. Washington needs to provide more economic assistance and spur greater private investment, in cooperation with Germany.
In the political realm, the United States

has been too diffident. If the current United Nations cease-fire effort in Yugoslavia fails. the Bush administration can no longer stand aside and snipe at European initiatives to quell the strife. There, too, it would be better to act in partnership with Germany.

Washington's most conspicuous response to the collapse of Soviet power has been to extend NATO's reach to Eastern Europe by inviting Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland to join a new North Atlantie Cooperation Council. But the economic problems facing these countries are greater than their security needs, and they are likely to turn to the European Community, not NATO, for help. That means dealing with German businesses and banks.

Washington can ill afford to stand aloof.

Economic recovery is the best antidote to insecurity in the center of Europe. And America's aid, and presence, would be welcome along with Germany's. Yet the administration, compared with its allies, is providing precious little direct aid to

Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. The administration claims empty pockets. But what it really lacks is not money; it is the wisdom and the will to reallocate resources from a bloated defense budget.

The consequences of American abdication are clear in Yugoslavia. Washington tried to hold Yugoslavia together long after it had fallen apart. The United States disparaged German peacemaking initiatives and deferred to Britain. In so doing it slowed formulation of a common policy to halt the aggression by the Serb-led Yugoslav army. In frustration, Germany moved to recognize Croatia and Slovenia. That divided the allies and sowed anti-German antagonism in Europe. The German initiative may yet facilitate the cease-fire just brokered by the United Nations. But once Croatia is recognized, arms are likely to flow into the new state, and that could reignite the civil war.

In that event, Washington will have to map out a political course in Yugoslavia by working with Germany to bring about a cessation of the brutal war. How much better it would be to join forces, economically and politically, from the start.

-THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Post-Soviet Nuclear Sales?

Italian investigators seize Soviet plutonium bound for parts unknown. Libya reportedly tries to recruit Soviet scientists. Ukraine bolds up the removal of nuclear arms from its soil ... These are the latest incidents to sound an alarm about the potential spread of Soviet nuclear arms, material and experts to nuclear have-nots. The danger has become increasingly clear in recent weeks. But Washington has reasonable remedies — if it acts with dispatch.

To reduce the danger that Soviet arms could be sold to third parties, the United States can help remove, store and dismantle the arms and negotiate even deeper cuts in the Soviet arsenal. To prevent smuggling of nuclear material from scrapped Soviet arms, the United States can seek storage under international supervision. To keep Soviet nuclear experts from selling their services abroad, the United States can help

keep them gainfully occupied at home.

Secretary of State James Baker gained assurances from many republics that they would scrap or share control of their nuclear arms, and be is sending an undersecretary to Moscow this week to offer help on scrapping. But the administration has to do more, and quickly, to avert the danger.

The arms themselves pose the most press-

ing proliferation problem. Assurances of central control will not solve it permanently if the commonwealth comes apart. Getting rid of the arms would. Thankfully, Ukraine and Belarus are committed to becoming nuclear-free. Washington needs to work with these republics and the agencies that control the arms to expedite relocating, storing and dismantling them.

Kazakhstan wants to hang on to 104 SS-18 heavy missiles and bombers. Washington would do well to induce it to give them up, perhaps with aid. Proud Kazakhs want Russia to reduce as well. The United States can help by proposing to ban all heavy missiles in the republics, most of them in Russia, in

return for cuts in its own sea-based missiles. Even so, Russia will retain a substantial stock of arms - with the risk that some might be sold by their custodians. The best way to reduce that risk is to reduce the stockpile. Russia is ready for reductions but reasonably wants the United States to make reciprocal cuts. Given the vastly reduced requirements for deterrence with the end of

the Soviet threat, that is something that Washington can well afford to do.

Dismantling the arms will free up uranium and plutonium suitable for bomb-making. Those in charge of the material may be sorely tempted to sell it for hard currency, as Italian investigators discovered to their dismay. To prevent a recurrence, the United States could propose placing all such material under joint supervision of U.S. and Russian authorities. Alternatively, a new international agency, one modeled on the United Nations special commission now seeking to disarm Iraq, could take charge.

A final danger comes from the experts who manufacture Soviet arms or the material that goes into them. The CIA says as many as 2,000 have an intimate knowledge of weapons design and 3,000 to 5,000 work on uranium enrichment or plutonium production. The former Soviet republics and the United States have a shared interest in giving these experts useful and rewarding work at home. U.S. funding for Soviet science, preferably something more produc-tive than bomb-making could stop a nuclear brain drain. The republics could benefit if some of their best brains were applied to environmental cleanup, high technology for industry, satellite communications and a host of other civilian projects.

There are many ways that Washington can help hang a "no sale" sign on Soviet nuclear arms before it is too late. -THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

Poor Prospects in Yugoslavia

If the EC and UN efforts to bring peace to Yugoslavia are to have any success, the cooperation of the Yugoslav federal army will have to be sought. But the expectations of the two sides regarding just what United Nations intervention can or should accomplish are so divergent that a breakdown in the peace process is virtually inevitable. There is unfortunately little indication that either side is as yet genuinely ready for peace, and the Security Council is understandably reluctant to send UN troops into Yugoslavia under such conditions.

- Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich).

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Bush's Gulf Peace Looks Less Successful Than His War

WASHINGTON — Palestinian negotiators arrived in Washington to resume American-spon-sored peace talks with Israel last week at about the same time that the PLO leader. Yasser Arafat, quietly slipped into Baghdad to visit his old patron, Iraq's still-standing and defiani ryrant, Saddam Hussein.
"We have no idea why Arafat is

doing this now," said one senior U.S. official monitoring his movements.

"If you give him the benefit of the doubt, you would conclude that it is simple stupidity."
Such contradictory behavior by Pal-

estinian representatives is indicative of the complex and untidy transformation that has swept the Middle East since American bombs began to fall oo Baghdad one year ago this week. In many ways, the world that existed last Jan. 16 is gone, transformed in part by George Bush's decision to go to war against Iraq and by the subsequent demise of the Soviet Union. But equally striking, as the anniver-

sary of the launching of Operation Desert Storm approaches, is how much the war did not change or resolve. Few conflicts have ever accomplished so much so quickly and yet left so much urgent unfinished business.

Saddam not only survived but he thumbs his nose at President Bush. The Iraqi has scheduled mass celebrations to mark the anniversary of the beginning of the 43-day war this week in Baghdad. "We emerged triumphant from that war," he told tribal leaders recently in unabashed revisionism. The unfinished nature of America's

war against Saddam invites conflicting interpretations of even the significance of the Jan. 16 anniversary.

Ask an official from Israel, the mul-

tinational coalition's "silent" partner, what anniversary falls this week and he will say that it is the anniversary of the first Scud attacks on Israel, an event that naturally weighs more heavily on Israeli consciousness than does the American victory in Kuwait.

An Egyptian social scientist responds that Jan. 16 was the beginning of the nakba, or calamity, a popular name for the Arab civil war that Desert Storm helped bring to a head. By rallying to fight with America against Iraq's seizure of Kuwait, Egypt and other Arab countries decisively rejected Saddam's brand of rabid Arab na-



still not established a new balance of power or clear political direction. As Mr. Bush reviews his notes for anniversary remarks, be will be able to conclude bonestly that, on balance, the accomplishments of Desert Storm have not been erased or eclipsed by the war's troublesome and at times tragic aftermath. He has fared far better than the pessimists predicted, even though he has not accomplished what he and

The presence in Washington of the Palestinian negotiators, a presence blessed by Mr. Arafat and his Palestine Liberation Organization, is proof of that. The predictions that the Arab world would explode into irrevocable anger against America if the United States went to war against an Arab regime, even one as brutal and hated

as Iraq's, were dead wrong.

Mr. Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein, Saddam's two chief Arab allies during the war, continue their ties to Iraq. But both have worked mightily to get back into America's good graces as well. When the four frontline Arab countries and the Palestinians yielded to prodding from Secretary of State James Baker to negotiate directly with Israel, the Middle East conflict was irrevocably changed. In drawing up his balance sheet, Mr. Bush will emphasize the swift lib-

eration of Kuwait, the war's immedi-

ate goal. He will say that the war belped Americans secure unimpeded access to Middle Eastern oil, at lower prices, during the past year. And he can point to the impact of Desert Storm in ending the long imprisonment of American hostages in Beirut. "The United Nations did not change its formula for contact or release," says a U.S. official. "What changed was the environment. The Iranians, like the Arab states that cined the peace process they had rejected before, understood that the

relations with us. And for Iran that meant returning the hostages." The American hostage drama concluded in late December when the remains of William Buckley, the CIA's Berntt station chief who died in captivity after torture by his captors, were left on a Beinst roadside. American officials saw this grisly delivery as an-other sign of Iran's determination to

emergence of the United States as the

region meant that they had to improve

enged external influence in the

"We kept being told the captors were having technical problems." That seemed to mean they couldn't identify the right body. But the Iranians kept the pressure up until they delivered. says an American diplomat.

The United States is prepared to discuss resuming diplomatic relations with Iran now that the hostages have been released. But Iran's demand that preliminary talks be kept secret has stalled the normalization process, according to one U.S. source. American officials are wary of continuing splits in the Iranian government over improving relations with the West desofte the hostage release.

American suspicions have been reinforced by reports that Tehran has bought significant amounts of arms from the disintegrating ex-Soviet army and is pursuing a nuclear research program with the help of China and other countries. A detailed account of the multibillion-dollar Iranian arms buildup that appeared in the Los Angles Times last week was termed as sentially correct" by a U.S. official.

"It is another example of the double-edged nature of the change that Desert Storm produced," the official continued. "With Iraq's military smashed, Iran is clearly intent on arming itself to be the dominant military power in the Gulf over the next decade. It is not something to panic about yet, but it is something to watch, since it is obviously not in our interest to have any unfriendly local power dominate the Gulf."

A major disappointment for the Bush administration has been the failure of Saudi Arabia and other conservative Gulf states to agree on regional security arrangements that American planners had hoped would lead to an effective Arab deterrent force. U.S. officials now concede that their efforts have produced only accords that will increase U.S. prepositicoing of equipment and access rights in some of the Gulf states.

The State Department's top Middle East expert, Assistant Secretary
Edward Djerejian, seemed to acknowledge that Desert Storm had not
transformed the underlying security
situation of the Gulf when he appeared before a House subcomittee on Nov. 20. Asked to justify increased U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia, he U.S. arms sairs to be after Desert Storms asid that "even after Desert Storms all the retains a considerable minute." capability which could pose a threat capability which could pose a uncusto Saudi Arabia. Noting that the Gallaremains a dangerous neighborhood. he said at another point that the present force structure of the issue military is much larger than that of the Saudi, even after Desert Storm.

and, even after Desert Storm.
"But I thought we won the war," a startled panel member said to Mr.
Dierejian in a comment that is an
creasingly heard from Americans who contemplate Saddam's contianing survival and his continuing branorth and the Shites of Iraq's south An early December poll taken by the Americans Talk Issues Foundation recorded that 82 percent of those polled now think the United States should have continued to fight until Saddam was driven from power.

As the Jan. 16 anniversary—and

the U.S. election season — ap some proach, administration rhetoric on Iraq has again toughened. Mr. Bush last week used an interview with Cable News Network to call on the Cable News Network to tan to tan Iraqi people to "take matters into their own hands and get [Saddam out of there." He said the United States "would take a leadership role." in trying to help Iraq . . if you figure out how to get him out of there.

To give the rhetoric credibility and

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HICAGO EXC

to spook Saddam, the White House also mounted a two-month-long review of its Iraq policy, which is now essentially complete. A covert action program to help Saddam's opponents is expected to be strengthened, and the Pentagon's Joint Chiefs of Staff, who initially responded to the idea of any new U.S. military involvement against Saddam by dragging their feet, have been told to find ways to contribute to

the effort against Saddam.

The larger hopes that Mr. Bush and his advisers held for the meaning of the swift victory in Kuwait have also proved elusive. When Mr. Bush went before Congress on March 6, he outlined the meaning of Operation Desert. Storm in terms that are almost painful to recall today as more than \$00,000 Kurds remain homeless in northern Iraq and Saddam continues to conceal nuclear weapons material and chemical arms from UN inspectors:

"Now we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order ... in which the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong ... Our success in the Gulf will shape not only the new world order we seek but our mission here at home.' He said the U.S. economy was poised for strong recovery.

But the new world has proved to be. closer to a vision projected about the same time by the Harvard professor Samuel Huntington, who foresaw "a more jungle-like world of multiple dangers, hidden traps, unpleasant surprises and moral ambiguities" replacing the black and white, bipoist world of the Cold War. An estimated 10,000 people - 20 times the number killed in Iraq's invasion of Kuwait have perished in Yugoslavia's civil

war in recent months. "Americans were not simply introduced to the new world, they were immersed in it" by the Gulf crisis, adds Les Aspin, the Wisconsin Demo-crat who chairs the House Armed Services Committee and one of the chief

congressional architects of the force that carried out Desert Storm. In a set of incisive speeches during the past three weeks, Mr. Aspin fault-ed the Bush administration for not following up on victory in Knwait and on the demise of the Soviet Union. He outlined both a new approach to Iraq - where he favors a more confronta-

tional U.S. approach on weapons in-spections and destruction and the feeding of Iraq's starving population by the United Nations — and to U.S. "This ambiguous, complicated and changing security environment is not a comfortable one for Americans," Mr.

Aspin says. "The post-Soviet world bumper sticker Less Threatening." More Complicated offers no clear-cut guidance ... The Persian Gulf war highlighted the most important threats of the new era — the spread of nuclear weapons, terrorism and regional pow-ers." It did not resolve them, even in the case of Iraq, Mr. Aspin argues.

A year after the bombs started falling on Baghdad, Mr. Bush can proud-

ly say be won the war. But, as the world settles into an era of fragmenting power and moral ambiguity, the "peace" that followed is proving far more difficult to master than the marching heroes and endiess parades of Desert Storm seemed to promise. The Washington Post

1892: Treaty on Africa

new YORK—The Schate has ran-fied the Commercial Treaty with the Congo Free State and the Brussels Convention, relating to the African slave trade. The failure of the Senate to take action in the matter of the Anti-Slavery Convention until now was caused by the reluctance of a number of Senators to recognize the iustice of the partition of Africa among the nations of the world. There was no substantial objection to the treaty on other grounds, and it was ratified with an amendment disclaiming United States approval of the wisdom, expediency or lawfulness of protectorates in Africa.

1917: League of Nations

LONDON - The Allied Govern-ments have received the Note remitted on December 19 in the name of the United States Government. In a general manner they wish to declare that they pay homage to the high

and to associate themselves with the project for the creation of a league of nations to assure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the advantages which would be offered to the cause of humanity and civilization by the institution of international rules to avoid violent conflict between nations,

1942: Germany Targeted

Allied intend to fight delaying actions in the Pacific until their forces can be strengthened there.

By Anthony Lewis

N EW YORK — The Constitution supposes what the history of all governments demonstrates, that the executive is the branch of power most interested in war, and most prone to it. It has accordingly, with studied care, vested the question of war in the legislature. - James Madison

A year ago this week the United States went to war against Iraq. How much the war achieved, at how great a price in human devastation, remains a matter of debate. But one thing is not in doubt. The way America went to war marked a new high in the umlateral power of the American presidency.

From Aug. 2, 1990, when Iraq invaded Knwait, to the first bombs falling on Baghdad on Jan. 17, 1991, George Bush maneuvered the country toward war. Deception obscured the process then. Now we can see the steady, skillful march to war. And it was

intensely personal: George Bush's decision.
On the morning of Aug. 2, President Bush told reporters, "We're not discussing intervention." But later that day he met Margaret Thatcher in Aspen, Colorado, and she filled him full of Munich and Churchill. That afternoon the president con-

demned Iraq's "naked aggression."

Over the next few days Mr. Bush and his aides essed Saudi Arabia to ask for American troops. On Aug. 8 the president announced that "the responded to that request." He said, "The mission of our troops is wholly defensive." John Sununu briefed the press that 50,000 troops would

mestic renewal. This is how Presi-

dent Bush, under fire for globe-

spinning, converted his Asian swing

to a mission of lunch-bucket diplo

macy to promote "jobs, jobs, jobs."
The effort will have been worth

it, however, if it teaches that just

pounding away on foreigners to buy more American products and services and otherwise open up

their markets can take a politician

-and the rest of us -only so far.

Bush reaped in Japan may actually produce more jobs. The notably richer harvest, however, was in con-

troversy over his purpose and meth-od. Thanks to his decision to bring

along American executives, a major

discussion was ignited on the per-

formance of American manage-

ment and especially on the sensitive

Some of the concessions that Mr.

be sent. The number actually planned was 250,000. On Oct. 31, the president decided to double the deployment to open the way for offensive action. against Iraq. He did not announce the increase until Nov. 8, after the congressional election. On Nov. 14, be assured congressional leaders that the troops' mission was still defensive: "I have not crossed any Rubicon."

A President's War, Launched 'on His Word Alone'

On Dec. 29, he gave the order for war. He told General Cohn Powell to attack starting at 3 A.M. on Jan. 17 if Iraq had not withdrawn from Kuwait. Never at any moment in that process did the president doubt his power to take the country into war. Just before Christmas be told ambassadors of the coalition countries that if he decided to go to

war, he would do so whether Congress agreed or not.
Congress finally gnt around to a debate on Jan. 10, but by then the issue was virtually foreclosed. With that many soldiers on the ground, with the public aroused by the president's talk of Saddam Hussein as Hitler, Congress had no real option but to ratify the undisclosed decision for war.

The record of President Bush's march to war is compellingly described in a book to be published by Henry Holt & Co. in March. It is "George Bush's War," by Jean Edward Smith, an American political scientist and biographer who is a professor at the University of Toronto. His subject is power, and he makes it a gripping story.

The framers of the Constitution set out to deny to the president the English king's power to make war on his own. Over the years, presidents have used troops on their own for brief actions, but not for such a massive offensive war. Dwight Eisenhower said he would never take "any kind of action that can be interpreted as war until Congress, which has the constitutional authority, says so." Now, by the precedent of the Gulf war, the

American president has more personal power to make war than the leader of any other significant democracy. How did that happen? How did the United States stray so far from the intentions of the framers? The Cold War did it, Mr. Smith rightly says. The president's singular responsibility to reply to nuclear attack led Americans to focus on him as "the supreme decision-maker on all issues." There was no structure for the voicing of alternatives. "On his word alone, the machinery of government was set in motion."

To that I would add that the theology of modern conservatism has clothed the president with the very majesty that Madison and Hamilton and the rest thought they had denied him:

Mr. Smith is respectful of Mr. Bush, even admiring. "It was a superlative performance," he says of the deceptive march to war. But be worries about "the profound implications for American

democracy." So should we all. The New York Times.

Would-Be Saddams Heard the Message

T HE air phase of the Gulf war opened one year ago this week. Why has it become so fashionable to decry the great victory over Saddam Hussein? As things stand, and despite the determination of critics to ignore what stares them in the face, Saddam has been left a bumbled and

largely powerless figure.
His oil income is mortgaged to reparations, which he must pay to Knwait out of what he is allowed to sell as a first charge. Reparations slow the reconstruction of his essential services. Little can be scraped together to buy weapons, the sale of which is in any case embargoed. And if it is true that be is colluding with the Algerian fundamentalists to pursue a covert nuclear program on their territory, all that tells us is that they have not grasped the cen-tral message of the Gulf war. That is that there is something like

a new world order, which will not only punish but also disarm aggres-sors as long as the international community keeps its will and America and ber allies stand ready to act with force and dispatch.

Most would-be Saddams seem to have got that point. Among them he stands out as, in Lenin's caustic phrase, "a useful idot," whose actions produced exactly the opposite effect to that he had intended.

- John Keegan, commenting in The Sunday Telegraph (London).

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO sentiments which inspired the Note NEW YORK -- The Senate has rati-

WASHINGTON — [From our New York edition:] Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, indicated today [Jan. 12] that the united nations may. have decided on a grand plan of strategy which calls for a concentration of effort against Germany, on the theory that Italy will collapse with Germany's defeat and that the smashing of Japan then will be a comparatively easy task. Secretary Knox discussed "this global war" indicating that the

Turning Minds to the Matters at Hand political muscle to induce foreign By Stephen S. Rosenfeld governments to make economic de-WASHINGTON — George item of executive pay. President Bush's trip to Japan may not go down in history, but it will certainly go down in politics. It was strictly economic grounds. Moreover, those circumstances are shrinking. The Cold War gave others, like Japan, political and milthe first major exercise in melding spoiled his case by shifting the fopost-Cold War foreign policy with an election-year political strategy. The results, as much as they can be seen at the moment, look dim. cus of the finger-pointers from Ja-pan's trading sins to America's initary reason to heed special American economic pleading. The end of the Cold War releases all sides to dustrial incompetence.
But — to take the hopeful view free-market decisions. - perhaps Americans will end up True, Japan is not the model Everyone accepts that Moscow after the August coup is a different profiting from the turn. free-market country — quite the contrary. It follows that not all place. Communism and the Soviet A substantial boost has been giv-Union are irreversibly gone. It is no trade bargaining with Japan can be dismissed as bullying, any more en to the contention that the trade less so that Washington after the surplus with America that Japan August coup is another kind of difenjoys flows from poor choices than all American criticism of Toferent place. The politicians are made on American shores, not simkyo's trading practices can be dispressing to show they understand that the country has been released ply from shrewd ones made in Jamissed as Japan-bashing. To judge from international vigilance to do-

pan. This could play helpfully in the continuing debate over American protectionism. The Democratic presidential contenders gravitate easily to the argu-ment that global changes now allow foreign policy to be considerably re-

cast as a tool to advance American economic interests. Mr. Bush himself bought into that argument when he flew to Asia to apply American influence to multiply jobs. He was careless to do so. For one thing, he was surrendering a rampart - national security and global cooperation — on which he enjoys general regard. For another, he overplayed his hand. Foreign policy

is not a heavy duty, all-purpose tonl

for advancing American economic interests, and especially for dealing with other global heavyweights.

Only in selected circumstances can

the United States expect to use its

cisions they would not make on

by his press clippings, however, President Bush is paying a high price for his tactic of responding to home political pressures on trade by taking up executive branch cad-

nitive legislation, on the model supported by some Democratic egislators and would-be presiden-

There are other ways to make the United States more competitive - by self-administered doses of political, economic and social discipline. These approaches, rooted in politics much more than in diplomacy, are harder and slower to apply but better calculated to work and more consistent with other, abiding American foreign policy interests. This is the lesson for all the year's politicians.

The Washington Post.

gels against the Japanese.
It remains only to note that putial nominees, is no better.

turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

On the one hand the czarist and Sovi-

et empires grew into a permanent threat

to the balance of power all along their

vast peripheries in Europe, in the Mid-

dle East and in Asia. On the other hand,

these empires twice saved the indepen-

dence of European nations because,

without their contribution, Napoleon

and Hitler would have prevailed. Thus,

America's interest is to see emerge a

confederation strong enough to assure

the security of its peoples but not cohe-sive enough to initiate aggression.

If that should become the shape of the

new commonwealth, the pattern of world politics would change. For the first time in two centuries, Eastern Eu-

rope, the Baltics and the Balkans would

he insulated from Russian military pres-

sure. In turn, Russian would have a secu-

rity belt against invasions from Europe

and, as reinsurance, would retain its vast

nuclear arsenal as well as the largest pop-

In a loose confederation, the huge re-

sources heretofore sacrificed to foreign

adventures would become available for

the well-being of its own population. The

domestic progress of the peoples of the commonwealth could be synchronized

ulation of any European state.

For Russian Renovation Within the Newly Chosen Limits

N EW YORK — Secretary of State James Baker has put forward four criteria for the admission of the new-republics on the soil of the former Soviet Union into the community of democratic nations: democratic values and practices, the safeguarding of human rights and minorities, respect for borders and peaceful change, and the carrying out of international obligations.

No American can argue with these principles. However, in the light of his-

For the first time in two centuries, Eastern Europe, the Baltics and the Balkans would be insulated from Russian military pressure.

torical experience and the tensions withinand between the various republics, these goals may not be reached for many years, if ever. If America holds its policy hostage. to their fulfillment, it faces two risks.

One is that it may strain to ascribe democratic virtue to leaders whose democratic rhetoric is only lip service to achieve a quite different political agenda. In that case, U.S. policy will be deprived of credibility and relevance. By Henry Kissinger

Or else, finding American hopes unful-filled, a policy of "constructive engagement" could turn into a vehicle for discugagement. The United States would then soon discover that the territory of the former Soviet Union is too critical to the peace of the world to permit American disengagement, whatever the reason.

The evolution of the new commonwealth is bound to be long and painful, and it may be violent. The various republics were glued together forcibly over four centuries under the aegis of what is today the Russian Republic, which stilled local initiative and filled the key governmental posts with Russians. Inevitably the new commonwealth reflects a melange of motives.

Most Russian leaders see it as a way to keep alive what can be salvaged of the

traditional union and perhaps of Russia's historic domination. The larger republics such as Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhatan consider the commonwealth a regrettable halfway house on the road

The ambiguity of the founding docu-ment reflects these crosscurrents. Neither the competencies nor the composition of the commonwealth ministerial committees which are supposed to "coordinate" the republics has been spelled out. The

Council of Heads of States of the republics is to make decisions by consensus, which sounds unworkable. Ukraine has turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy. so far refused to consider a commonwealth constitution.

Even the military arrangements, comparatively the most clear-cut, remain controversial. Belarus and Ukraine have declared that they will give up the tactical nuclear weapons on their territory only for the purpose of facilitating their destruction. Tactical nuclear weapons are supposed to be moved to the Russian Republic for that purpose by July 1, 1992. Yet the mechanisms neither for transfer

nor for destruction have been spelled out. What should be the American attitude in the face of such looming conproversies? The principles articulated by Secretary Baker relate primarily either to the procedure for settling disputes or to the internal evolution of the various republics. They do not address the American interest in the structure emerging over the entire area of the former Soviet Union.

Yet of all the countries of Europe, the Russian empire under czar or commissar has always been the most restless. It engaged in more wars than any European country, expanded in all directions and still felt permanently threatened. The more polyglot the empire became, the more vulnerable it felt. To sustain its rule, it invoked outside dangers greater

with the rest of Europe, perhaps in associ-ation with the European Community. At the same time, statements by Russian leaders suggest that the proclivity for domination, demonstrated over 300 years, has not been wholly eradicated. There is the warning that seceding re-publics cannot take their Russian populations with them, a hint of potential ethnic quarrels reminiscent of Yugoslavia. There is an ominous unilateralism about economic policy using Russia's control over resources such as oil to force the other republics to fall in line or suffer the consequences.

The pledge of inviolable borders is

amhiguous. In previous draft agree-ments, Russia made its acceptance of the other repubbes' borders depend on maintenance of central institutions; it has since remained silent on the issue.

f have the highest regard for Mr. Yeltsin's courage in opposing the Com-munist establishment and for his energy and skill in shaping the common-wealth. Early on f urged that be not be treated so grudgingly. The fact remains that Russia's priekly nationalism has been a perennial force.

Nor can Russia's long-term behavior be deduced from its pliability during a period of extreme dependence on the outside world. In fact, it is likely to reemerge as the dismantling of the Gorbachev era is completed, and nationalism may be seen as a tempting unifying force during the inevitable stretch of austerity that lies ahead.

The United States faces two challenges which may seem contradictory but are in fact quite complementary. On the international scene, it should work closely with Russia because a non-expansionist Russia would have nary a

clashing interest with America. A Russia for the first time concentrating its vast talents on the well-being of its population should receive American encouragement and support to help it surmount its Communist past.

But the welcome vista of close cooperation on the international scene should not lure America into inadvertently encouraging Russian domination of the other peoples of the former U.S.S.R.

A lasting structure of peace requires elose cooperation between Washington and Moscow, the capital of a nuclear power stretching across 11 time zones. But this will work only if it is made compatible with the existence of independent countries on the territory of the former Soviet Union. For attempts to recentralize that vast territory would require methods, policies and justifica-tions bound to rekindle tensions reminiscent of the Cold War.

American officials could unintentionally contribute to a dangerous recentralization if they failed to understand that their invocation of America's sacramental language could incur quite another

The historic opportunity for peace resides in pluralism among the republics, and in a close and confident U.S. relationship with a Russian Republic that is nonexpansionist for the first time in its history.

meaning in the context of Soviet and Russian history.

When American officials bestow the appellation "democratic" on particular leaders, they often confer a courtesy title that reflects a hope rather than the actual record. Almost without exception, the leaders of the new republics achieved high office as officials of the Communist Party. The same is true of most of the industrial managers. Their adaptability to nationalist slogans and democratic rhetoric is a tribute to their finely honed skills for survival. It would be a mistake to treat anti-Stalinism as a fundamental

conversion to democracy.

All factions in the former Soviet
Union are fighting their battles in the name of democracy. Do we really know enough about the players to take stands in all the political contests now develop-ing in faraway republics? How many of the civil conflicts are exacerbated from the outside, hy old-line centralizers? We should be wary of encouraging efforts to recentralize the former Soviet Union in the name of loosely and perhaps cynically applied democratic rhetoric.

valries between the republics. ft is sometimes argued that the posmilarly, anyone brought up in the

American tradition will support the principle of protection for minorities. But in the Soviet context the issue of minorities merges with territorial claims: to the territory east of the Dnieper and the Crimea in Ukraine, to the eastern part of Belarus, in important regions of Latvia and Estonia. Care must be taken that a precious
American constitutional principle not legitimize the forcible takeover of disputed

territories on the Yugoslav model.

The window of opportunity for supporting pharalism may turn out to be very fleeting. In addition to fostering relations with the Russian Republic, Washington should therefore accelerate diplomatic, economic and cultural contact with at

least the larger new republics.

Too often the United States displays toward the new republics the grudging attitude it exhibited toward Mr. Yeltsin in his relationship with Mikhail Gorba-chev. Washington has been far more voluble in putting forward conditions for recognition of the new republics — other than Russian — than in defining opportunities for cooperation.

Some U.S. statements seem determined to enthrone the Russian Republic as the linear heir of czarist and Communist centralizers. This is in to one's interest. For it risks sacrificing vast opportunities for a genuinely new world order to unforeseeable civil conflicts and a

possible civil war. The United States should deal with the republics of the new commonwealth as it has dealt with the nations of Europe, and it should treat commonwealth institutions as it has those of the Enropean Community. The United States has been meticulous about avoiding the principle of a dominant European country. The Russian Republic, as the most powerful of the successor states, will always have a major international role, an important place in American foreign policy and a leadership position in the common-wealth. But it should be encouraged to do so from within its boundaries and consistent with the spirit of the institutions it has helped to create.

It goes without saying that fostering equality in the commonwealth should be done in a way that does not create the impression that America is fomenting ri-

session by Russia of s vast strategic nuclear potential imposes the need to differentiate in her favor. But if this were true it would encourage nuclear proliferation as an admission ticket to a special relationship with the United States. And it would be absurd to turn the sensitive issue of nuclear weapons into a tool of the centralizers. f simply cannot bring myself to generate nostal-gia for the days when tens of thousand of nuclear warheads were aimed at the United States from a central totalitarian command post, however tight its command and control system.

There are three aspects to the problem of nuclear control: technical safeguards, whose finger is on the trigger and the international political context within which the decision to use nuclear weapons may be made.

With respect to technical safeguards, everyone agrees that it would be desirable to destroy tactical nuclear weapons at agreed locations. What is undetermined is the process for doing so.

The question of whose finger should be

on the trigger in the commonwealth has been resolved at least temporarily by giving control to the Russian president so long as he has the agreement of the heads of the other nuclear republics. This provision is only meaningful, however, if there are technical means by which the non-Russian presidents can give effect to their veto. If that is not done, we have returned to the previous state of affairs of unilateral central control.

American technical advice has been offered and can be important. But care must be taken that importuning for cen-tral command and control not be used as a pretext to recentralize by force. For in the end the resurrection of a highly cen-tralized empire will be politically a far greater danger to world peace.

The great historic opportunity for peace resides in pluralism among the republics of the former Soviet Union side by side with a close and confident U.S. relationship with a Russian Republic that is non-expansionist for the first time in its history. Such an architecture would open up unprecedented prospects for all the peoples of the world and especially for the long-suffering populations of the former Soviet Union.

O Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

Make Aid Conditional on Demilitarization

ASHINGTON — When some 60 WV countries meet in Washington later this month to discuss aid for the former Soviet republics, they should link long-term economic and technical assistance to progress in shifting priorities from the

military to economic development.

This demand would not be unprecedented: Lenders to some Third World countries have started to put such conditions on their aid.

Although 11 of the new republics agreed last month as members of the Commonwealth of Independent States to a unified nuclear command and a timetahle for destroying or removing nuclear weapons from Belarus and Ukraine, sub-stantial uncertainties remain. Kezakhstan has said it intends to remain a nuclear power as long as Russia does. Neither the START treaty, which would reduce strategic weapons by about 25 percent, nor the treaty on conventional forces in Europe has been ratified.

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Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova are setting up independent armies. Ukraine alone has plans for a standing force of 450,000 troops. And Boxis Yeltsin, Russia's president, has chal-lenged Ukraine's claim that it should control the Black Sea fleet of the defunct Soviet Union. All this suggests that the republics may continue to dehote substantial resources to the military. Not only would this run counter to U.S. and European efforts to shrink military budgets, it would also absorb By Nicole Ball and Robert McNamara

funds that the republics urgently need to stabilize their chaotic econom During the last year international lenders have grown increasingly impatient with the high military spending of many developing countries. The money spent on the military exceeds the combined trending or health and administration. spending on health and education in some 20 developing countries. The heads of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund recently warned that such expenditures were causing them to question whether their funds were being but to the best use.

Germany said in September that it would cut aid to India by nearly 25 percent in 1992 unless New Delhi reduced its military budget. Pakistan and China are expected to receive similar warnings. In October, Japan told North Korea that to obtain diplomatic recognition and aid it must halt construction of

the Yongbyon plutonium plant.

A similar strategy should be applied to the former Soviet republics.

Last month Secretary of State James Baker outlined security measures that the United States hopes the republics will adopt. He called on the new states to maintain the unified nuclear command. adhere to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty without creating new nuclear weapons, carry out the conventional

forces treaty, limit arms buildups and convert military industries to civilian use. At the conference on aid in Washington, the United States and other donors should begin discussing how to make economie and technical assistance contingent on these and similar policies, such as ratifying the START treaty and

reducing military expenditures. In line with the mandate received from its board last fall, the IMF should review the republics' military budgets and make its findings available to the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the OECD. That way all aid decisions will be based on the same information. Tying economic aid to limits on mili-

tary spending is a sensitive issue that has at times led to charges of meddling. Nonetheless, many lenders argue that when military budgets undermine development efforts, aid should be reduced. By making clear that the military cannot take precedence over development, the United States, other donor countries and the lending institutions can ensure that the \$50 billion to \$60 billion they

provide annually will help, not hinder,

the creation of a more peaceful world. Nicole Ball, a visiting fellow at the Over-seas Development Council, and Robert Mc-Namara, U.S. secretary of defense from 1961 to 1968 and president of the World Bank from 1968 to 1981, contributed this nent to The New York Times.



WELCOME

East China Fair '92 will be held at Shanghai Exhibition Centre from March 5th to 14th, 1992, while a subsidiary exhibition hall will be located in Shanghai International Exhibition Centre Hongqiao Economic and Technological Developmen Zone It will be a regional

foreign economic relations and trade fair.

The Fair will display therent kinds of products including oil and the foodstuffs, native produce, animal by products textiles, silks, garments, light industrial modules stationery and sporting goods, arts and drawn work, chemicals are an endicines and health products in light ry and the products and products and products and products and products are products. from enterprises with to the investments will also be on display. Various forms of business such as processing or assembling with supplied materials, compensation trade, joint and cooperative ventures will all be negotiable.

Businessmen all over the world are warmly welcome.

Co - organized by : Shanghai, Jiangsu Province, Zhejiang Province, Jiangxi Province, Nanjing and Ningbo

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ALGERIA: Ruling Council Cancels Elections After President Resigns

elections, as it was widely expected to do. A chimate of uncertainty reigned over Algeria as the country seemed to drift without a president or par-

liament and only an interim government under the army's control. The interim president, Abdelmalik Behabyles, 71, a former diplomat and president of the obscure Constitutional Council, a sevenman government-appointed body, nominally fills the post of president. But real power resides in the hands of Prime Minister Ghozali and senior army commanders.

Since the resignation of the president, signs have multiplied that the Algerian government was preparing a number of measures to

did in 1988.

Several Algerians and foreign diplomats said that the government of Mr. Ghozali, acting in close coordination with the army, was preparing to undertake measures to restrict parties, like the Islamic Front, that make religion the basis of their political philosophy.

It also appears, according to these Algerians, who asked not to be identified, that the government was considering postponing presi-dential elections. Under the constitution, these elections must be held within 45 days. The sources said, however, that the presidential vote would be pushed back to at least

dismantle the democratic process were deployed throughout the capithat was started by Colonel Bendje-tal Saturday night, were withdrawn in the early hours of the morning. But the army is still in a state of high alert and road blocks were expected to be set up.

On Sunday, Algiers was calm. Streets were busy with heavy traffic as they usually are on Sundays. Colonel Bendiedid has made no comments since his resignation was aired live on public television Sat-

urday night.

Some West European diplomats in Algeria said Colonel Bendjedid attempted early last week to reshuffle the chiefs of staff of the army to proceed with elections free of army pressure. But on Thursday, the top military command told him that it would not obey these orders and Armored cars and tanks, which suggested instead that he resign.

"The FIS had thought of all the tal Saturday night, were withdrawn scenarios but not this one," a former senior official of the ruling National Liberation Front said, referring to the Islamic Front's apparent confusion following the president's resignation.

"We need time to stabilize the country, starting with the economy, and to prepare the society for true democratic practices," said the former senior official, who is familiar with the army's thinking. "What we had this time was chaos, not a free election."

The official said that the president's resignation entailed a legal freeze on any legislative elections and avoided the impact of a forced removal or a coup, although this is not clearly stated in Algeria's vague



A sailor in Sevastopol addressing a more argent matter than the fleet's future: cleaning his mattress.

FRIENDS: U.S. and Allies Come to Grips With Post Cold-War Realties

(Continued from page 1)

left with each republic president as the minimum they must meet to qualify for American recognition and aid. The list includes such points as the need to support democracy, rule of law and human

rights.
It was striking, if not a bit frightening, though, to watch during Mr. Baker's recent tour of Soviet republics how effortlessly the presidents of these new states read back to him the democratic cue cards he held up to them.

"Just tell us what to say," they in effect told the secretary. "We sup-port free markets. We support free elections. Now please give us your recognition and aid."

The question is: Are these bornagain democrats just fooling them-selves, or are they fonling America, too? Clearly, the administration has not been fooled by Mr. Gamsakhurdia. But how about some of the others?

There is an almost willful inno-

hran Opens Tajik Embassy

NICOSIA - Iran has opened an embassy in Tajikistan, the only Persian-speaking republic in the former Soviet Union, the Iranian press agency, IRNA, said.

cence among the American offi-tantly, it requires an independent cials now dealing with the new re- judiciary that can enforce rights. public leaders — an irresistible desire to believe that these wily former Communists, these men who come from lands with cruel histories and well-honed habits of telling the czar in Moscow whatever he wants to hear to keep him at bay, have indeed been reborn.

Sorting out the fakes in this group from the real gems presents two difficult challenges for Wash-

To the extent that Washington intends to base pobcy on encouraging and rewarding movement to-ward democracy by new states, "it is going to have to articulate a larger notion of what constitutes democracy," argued a Harvard University political theorist, Michael J. Sandel. Washington can no longer simply use the mantra of free elections, or Mr. Baker's five points, as a facile summation of democracy.

Free elections are a necessary condition for democracy, but by no means a sufficient one. "For years, we have just pressed a shorthand version of our values

- free elections and free markets -without realizing that the fullest expression of our values required more," Mr. Sandel said. "Democracy is more than just a procedure for electing officials —it is a way of life and a set of tradi-

tions and institutions. Most impor-

protect the opposition and ensure that not only are elections democratic but that daily life is democratic as well." But the second challenge is how far to take these concerns. After all,

why should the United States care whether Mr. Yeltsin is a real or fake democrat, as long as he supports American interests? The simple answer is that to the extent that Russia is a democracy it

will be much less of a threat to the United States, since democracies are less likely to initiate wars. But Russia is the easy example.

Washington will want and need relationships with a number of the new republics - like the oil-rich and nuclear-armed Kazakhstan -

for reasons of good old power-poli-

tics: so it can counterbalance Rus-

sia, have a new market for Ameri-

can exports and influence Muslims When that becomes clear, how closely should Washington scrutinize Kazakhstan's new constitution or elections? After all, the end of the Cold War does not mean an

end to geopolitics. A gimpse of the coming debate could be found during a recent closed-door session between a group of congressmen and a senior administration policymaker, at which the policymaker remarked

threat, "we were able to justify to ourselves a degree of cynicism in foreign affairs, which was contrary to our nature and traditions."

With the Cold War over, he added, "it may be that Americans have concluded that the world is safe for an unreconstructed form of Wilsonianism. Today, we are in danger of reverting to form — of granting idealism a near exclusive hold on

MOSCOW: Communists Protest Price Rises and Call for Resignations

(Continued from page 1) the country in its own hands and bring Gorbachev with other traitors to a military tribunal." Others called for the resignation of Mr. Yeltsin.

■ Issues in Negotiation

Celestine Bohlen of The New York Times reported from Moscow: The Kiev communique provided a framework for negotiations by specialists who will discuss divid-ing the Black Sea Fleet into strate-

gic and conventional components. Both sides agreed to abide by existing agreements, which say that strategic forces will fall under the joint command of the Commonwealth of Independent States. But a Ukrainian government some portion of the fleet's conventional forces to protect its Black

Despite heated exchanges over several days, the meeting took place in an atmosphere of compro-mise, a Ukrainian official said. The delegations were headed by Deputy Prime Minister Sergei Shakrai of Russia and Minister of Defense Conversion Viktor Antonov of

Ukraine is not insisting on all the fleet," he said, "and the Russians understand that Ukraine, as an independent nation, needs its

Still, the talks added to growing doubts about whether the Com-

source said the republic was insist- monwealth can handle disputes being on the right to take control of tween its members, or produce a arms-control parlance to distincollective leadership for its joint

military forces. In another Slavic republic, Belarus, the parliament, following in Ukraine's footsteps, moved over the weekend toward creating its own army. It said it assumed control of all the former Soviet forces on its territory, with the exception of strategic forces.

The dispute over the Black Sea Fleet was kindled by Ukraine's decision to seek a loyalty outh from all servicemen serving on Ukrainian territory, including those in the fleet.

Russia argnes that the Ukrainian oath violates early Commonwealth agreements to put strategic forces under joint command.

Some of the disagreement stems from differences between Russia and Ukraine over just what "strate-

The term, used in international guish long-range weapons (strate-gic) from shorter-range ones (tacti-cal) gets more complicated in this

Russia says the fleet is indeed strategic and that the Crimean peninsula and other Black Sea ports that now form part of Ukraine are though the air force would need a historically Russian territory.

Ukraine disregards such historical arguments and says that the Black Sea Fleet cannot be considered strategic because its ships are not currently armed with strategic nuclear weapons, and that because its home port, Sevastopol, is in Ukrainian territory, the force is subject to Ukrainian control.

Military officials, including the fleet's commander, insist that its position -guarding the gateway to the Mediterranean - make it strategically important for all members of the Commonwealth, not just

: Germans Cut Back In Arms:

Defense Spending To Fall by a Third

RONN - Germany will cut its planned defense spending by more than one-third over the next 13 years and reduce much of its inventory of heavy military equipment. its defense minister announced over the weekend.

Defense Secretary Gerhard Stoltenberg said the planned defense cuts and military realignments reflected changing world security re-quirements in the post-Cold War cra, as well as Germany's own baidgetary constraints.

Since it absorbed the largely bankrupt former East Germany in 1990. Germany has been struggling to bring the East up to Western standards, largely through budget cuts and tax increases. After a meeting of leaders of the

Bundeswehr, Mr. Stollenberg said Saturday that military spending for 1993 through 2005 was expected to total 117 billion Deutsche marks (\$78 billion).

That represents a decrease of 43.7 billion DM in planned defense

spending, or about 35 percent.

Most likely to be affected will be plans for transport planes, tanks, he said at a news conference.

Plans to spend 20.7 billion DM on new battle tanks, anti-mine systems and upgrades on armored hebcopters were axed completely.

Mr. Stoltenberg said that

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new jet fighter after 2000, plans to go ahead with a new European jet fighter - called the Jager 90 were on hold.

He said the planned changes would make the German military more mobile and enable it to parpicipate in rapid deployment forces. including United Nations peacekeeping missions.

To do that, however, Germany would have to abolish its constitutional restrictions on military involvement outside the area of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a change still under discus-

cs holding

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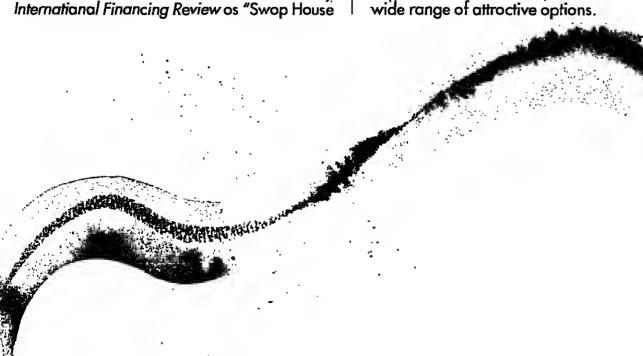
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BONN: Germany Calls Croatia Policy a Special Case aged by the Vatican and East Euro- many of them long-term residents

(Continued from page 1) Genscher's policy has more to do pean leaders.

with domestic popularity than any special German insight into Balkan

"Their analysis is no better than ours," said a U.S. official in Washington, pointing out that Mr. Genscher's approach to Eastern' Europe has always been marked by an urgent desire to reassure German opinion that instability there could be avoided

lence — starting, in effect, on Wednesday when Bonn implements recognition — is clear in one respect: It has dashed U.S. hopes of salvaging a Yugoslav federal entity of any sort.

But independence for Croatia was the goal of many German conservatives, and their objective was part of the domestic pressures on

Bonn's policy toward Yugoslavia. After months in which conservative German politicians have been restive at post-reunification con-cessions, the fate of Creatia be-came a test of Mr. Kohl's ability to assert German views, according to politicians. Mr. Kohl was put on notice last summer that he would face a revolt in his own party if he

wavered on independence. Pro-Croatian sentiment is particularly strong in Bayaria's Christian Social Union - the more conservative, nationalistic sister party of Mr. Kohl's Christian Democratic Union. The Bavarian Christian Socialists forged political ties with Zagreb in the mid-1980s, encour-

tician said, are not a bid for German aggrandizement, but a wish "to liberate a Western-minded, Catholic nation that should not be left out"

The Croatian lobby's influence in Germany is buttressed by Croats living and working in Germany -

The impact of Croatian indepen- 5 Deaths Shatter Yugoslav Truce

were wounded.

Those links, a conservative poli-

were killed when Croatian and Ser- stances. bian forces clashed Sunday in the worst violation so far of a United Nations-brokered cease-fire, Tanjug, the Yugoslav press agency, re-

It said that Croatian forces launched an attack in the Barania region near the Hungarian border and that Serbian forces returned fire. Three Croats were killed in an that fuels nationalistic feelings in hourlong fight, Tanjug reported; it said two Serbs died and that three have sought to avoid with a com-

The UN-negotiated cease-fire between the Yugoslav Army and the Croatian National Guard went into effect Jan. 3. Five unarmed European Community peace ob-servers were killed Tuesday when a

with many German friends

With Croatia becoming a litmus test with his party's right wing, Mr. Kohl found it impossible to resist wider pressures to act in Yugoslavia when German media started heavy coverage of the war.
The fighting, often depicted as a

nightmarish return of the 1930s unbulence, affected German public opinion strongly and bred impa-tience with the EC's apparent inability to prevent a recurrence of

Asked what the Yugoslav epi-sode portends for future Western policy coordination, a conservative German politician said, "This was BELGRADE - Five persons a very specific set of circum-

But a government official saw a

We felt that other countries were indifferent to our calls for help in Eastern Europe," he said, "so we were forced to do something

"Then other capitals blamed us for wanting to go our own way, and mon European foreign policy in-

stead of a German one. But diplomats challenged this version of Germany's dilemma.
"If they really want policy cooperation, the Germans have to realize that they cannot decide to opt Yugoslav Air Force plane shot down their helicopter. The Defense hissue has become too scary for them to wait for a consensus," a

European diplomat said.

ISRAEL: Under Pressure, the West Bank Radicalizes

(Continued from page 1)

since late October in attacks that have twice been timed to coincide with the opening of a new round in the peace negotiations.

One result has been a wave of vigilantism among the settlers as well as a mounting political drive to stop the peace process. "There is a radicalization of the

people because of the amalgam of the danger of being shot and the political danger of the darkness of a Palestinian state coming out of the tunnel of autonomy," said Elyakim Haetzni, a right-wing member of parliament and leader in the Kiryat Arba settlement, near Hebron.

"It's a very dangerous situation that may bring very violent reac-tions, far beyond what is happen-ing now," Mr. Haeztni said. So far, the settlers' campaign has appeared to have a remarkable de-

gree of influence on both the army and the Shamir government. On the ground, convoys of settlers have begun blocking main roads after stoning incidents and driving back routes through Palestinian villages that are usually not patrolled by the army. As a result, soldiers have been forced to impose curfews and set up checkpoints according

to the settlers' agenda.

Meanwhile, Mr. Shamir and his defense minister, Moshe Arens, have bent over backward to ap-pease settlement leaders in the wake of shooting incidents. After sit-ins by militants, Mr. Arens agreed to set up a new settlement at the site of one shooting in the West Bank, and has reportedly agreed to prepare for another at the site of the latest ambush, near a Gaza refugee district.

Last week, Mr. Arens and Mr. Shamir met one of the settlers' most insistent demands by expel-ing 12 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, even though there was no evidence that any of the suspects were connected to the shontings. And Mr. Shamir agreed to budget for the construction of 5,500 more Jewish housing units in the territories in 1992 - even though an unprecedented campaign to build 21,000 units is already under way.

"The radical right has already

had a tremendous impact on the peace process," said Ehud Sprin-zak, a political scientist at Hebrew

"The question is whether they will be able to block the peace process altogether, said Mr. Sprinzak, who has just published a book on the "radical right" in Israel, "In the long run, I don't see them stopping it, but I do see a major convulsion in Israel, including possibly vio-

For now, the settlers have considerable political leverage over Mr. Shamir because two nationalist parties that represent them have the power to bring down the goverament by withdrawing from its parliamentary coalition - and because the prime minister, 76, is already beginning to focus on the general elections that, in any case, must be beld in Israel sometime

The right-wing parties, called Tehiya-Zionist Revival Movement and Moledet, now say they will withdraw from the government if Israel's negotiators in Washington

so much as mention a plan for self-

government to the Palestinians.
That appears to leave Mr. Shamir a choice between prolonging the procedural quarrels that dominated

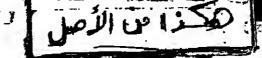
the last round of talks and accept-

ing the end of his government and the scheduling of spring elections. Peace Talks on Mideast Resume Monday in U.S.

Revers WASHINGTON - Middle -East peace talks were to resume in Washington on Monday, with only three days for negotiators to break a procedural impasse and move on

to the major issues at the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Officials from both sides said the third round of peace talks, involving Israel, Syria, Lebanon and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, would convene on Monday. six days after the date originally agreed. Israelis say they intend to leave Wednesday evening leaving only three days to settle a dispute over the status of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

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man

Rate Outlook Deflates The Speculative Balloon

By Carl Gewirtz

ARIS - Some of the froth went out of the international. capital market late last week when the U.S. bond market suddenly turned down and the enormous volume of new Eurobond issues, totaling the equivalent of more than \$11 billion, began to look like more than the market can bear. Loss of froth isn't such a bad thing. It has been a problem as the normally staid bond markets have been driven by intense speculation about interest rate cuts and currency movements, and are subject to violent changes in mood.

That's what happened Friday when Washington reported that

The sell-off was no

surprise because

prices had risen

very fast.

payrolls grew in December, an unexpected development that forced speculators to reconsider their assumption that U.S. interest rates were headed still lower.

At about the same time, the Bundesbank vice president, Hans Tietmeyer, toll the Berlin Chamber of Commerce

that German interest rates would generally have to stay fairly high for the forescable future. That dampened speculation, which had fueled a heavy supply of Eurobonds in seven European currencies, that a cu could come sconer than had been expected. With finance musters of the Group of Seven industrial

nations scheduled to meet in Washington on Jan. 25, analysts expect bond and culturery markets be buffeted by rumors about what might come cut of that meeting in terms of coordinated moves to boost world economic growth.

The sell-off in bind markets was no surprise, analysts say, because according to the party world be a sell-off in bind markets was no surprise. because prices overthe past month had risen very fast and yields,

which move inversely to prices, had come down very sharply.

Sinon Crane, a London-based adviser to technical traders, says that the U.S. and German bond markets had been looking "slightly overbound" after the surge in prices that began during

"slightly overbought" after the surge in prices that began during the holidays and climaxed last week. Nevertheless, he thinks these markets "remain in good fundamental shape. There is a good case for buying bonds and that hasn't changed."

The speculative element in the market was apparent in last week's largest Eurobond, a \$1.5-billion global issue of registered 10-year paper issued by the World Bank. More than three-quarters of the issue was sold in Europe and Asia, an unusually high proportion I non-U.S. sales compared with the Bank's first five slobal bond. five global bond

N ADDITI'N, the paper was placed with "more speculative hands - injectors who are not normally buyers of World Bank pape" notes a spokesman at one of the 12 lead

The high not-U.S. sales reflect speculation, especially in Europe, that the ollar will appreciate sharply this year and that long-term U.Sinterest rates will continue to decline. The relatively meager S. sales, managers say, were due to the pricing. Offered at 9971 and carrying a coupon of 6.75 percent, the

bonds yielded 6.88 percent — a mere 0.15 percent more than comparably ded U.S. government paper.

That was a cond-low spread. Previous 10-year global issues had been priced tyield 35 basis points over the benchmark rate. In the belief that sun a low spread could not be sustained and that the spread wouldwiden, pushing the price down, U.S. traders shorted the issue. The is, they sold paper they didn't have on the expecta-tion they coul later purchase bonds at a lower poice.

However espite the setback in the Treasury market Friday. European all Asian buyers held their paper, forcing the short sellers to corr their positions. As a result, the price of the World Bank issue arely moved in a market that was declining, and the spread nar wed to 8 basis points.

Manage report that the low offering spread is a function of speculator desire for a large, liquid issue to make their bets. It also reflect they say, big demand in Italy, where issues from supranaticals like the World Bank are not subject to a domestic

Ontariowhose long-term debt is rated AA, priced \$1 billion of seven-yearnotes to yield 56 basis points over the U.S. benchmark.

However, Gredit Local de France may face some trouble this
week. It innunced a \$500 million, 10-year issue on Friday
without secifing the coupon or the offering price but indicating
an intention testablish terms on Monday that provided a spread
of 28 bass pents over the U.S. benchmark. Although Credit
Local's long-tem debt is rated AAA, the issuer is not a supranational and doe not qualify for tax exemption in Italy, raising questions wherer it will be able to market its paper at such a

narrow spread The Eurodoar bonds launched earlier in the week generally

See EUROBONDS, Page 9

CURREICY RATES

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hst Week's Markets

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U.S. Bids **EC Relent** On Farm **Subsidies**

iled by Our Staff From Dispatches WASHINGTON - Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher expressed disappointment Sunday at a fresh rejection by the European Community of substantial cuts in farm subsidies and suggested that Europe should reconsider its "mistake" and "relent."

He commented after the EC ministers of trade and agriculture, meeting in Brussels over the week-end, reaffirmed their objections to a proposal to overhaul farm subsidy programs under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Their stance, on the eve of a

make-or-break round of negotiations in global trade talks that begin in Geneva Monday, appears to have dashed hopes for a break-through in the GATT talks. The United States has demanded substantial cuts in agricultural subsidies as the price for a successful

Many countries, including the United States, want to compete with Europe in the area of agriculnure, Mr. Mosbacher said, but the Europeans maintain "huge subsi-dies for their agricultural prod-

"I think they're making a big mistake, and I hope they'll recon-sider," he said. "Perhaps GATT can still succeed, he added. "I hope so, because it's good for the world, and they should relent,"

The EC ministers, meeting into the pre-dawn bours Saturday, refused to make any concessions despite warnings by economists that failure in the trade talks could

worsen recession around the world. EC officials said the atmosphere surrounding the talks had noticeably worsened since President George Bush met in the Hague in November with Prime Minister Rund Lubbers of the Netherlands, then the acting EC president, and vowed that a successful trade deal was at hand.

At the end of their five-and-ahalf hour meeting the EC ministers reaffirmed their objections to a plan for the overhaul of farm subsidy programs that was offered in December by the GATT directorneral Arthur Dunkel.

No written statement was issued. but several ministers said there was agreement to endorse the conclusions of a meeting held on Dec. 23, when EC ministers said that Mr. Dunkel's plan was unacceptable because it would demand unfair concessions from European farm-(IHT, WP)

For the U.S., a Decade to Pay the Piper

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The American economy, still burdened by the excesses of the 1980s, is struggling to regain its footing, a challenge that it will confroot through 1992 and perhaps much of the decade.

With a burgeoning array of problems masked by economic growth statistics during the Reagan years, America was surprised when the problems came together et the start of the new decade to throw the country into recession and raise questions about its future.

Some analysts believe that the unmasking itself is responsible for the sour, uneasy mood of many households and businesses, and therefore also partly responsible for the fact that the economy today is as "flat as a pancake," as one government economist put it last week.
That flamess is widely expected to contin-

ne only for a few more months, with growth resuming this spring as consumers and businesses make more progress in digging themselves out from under a mountain of debt.
But no one is looking for a boom. By late this year, most forecasters expect the civilian unemployment rate to drop from last month's 7.1 percent rate only to 6.7 percent or so. The good news is that inflation is likely to stay in the 3.5 percent to 4 percent range even if the

economic recovery does pick up as predicted. A simple resumption of growth, however, is not going to be enough to get the U.S. economy out of the woods. The biggest problem in the eyes of many economists is that the long expansion, which led to creation of more than 18 million jobs, came at the expense of a sharp decline in savings and an enormous increase in the total debt of governments,

households and businesses. The rise in total debt was paralleled by an

unprecedented decline in national saving. Partly as a consequence, business investment other than for replacement of worn out or phsolete plants and equipment was cut nearly in half, relative to the size of the economy. The 1980s were a hit of a disaster for the United States and the bill is coming due," a Massachusetts Institute of Technology econ-

The 1980s were a bit of a disaster for the United States and the bill is coming due.

Rudiger Dornbusch, an MIT economist

omist, Rudiger Dornbusch, said at the annual meeting of the American Economics Association in New Orleans a few days ago. "Like the debts of Latin America, once the growth disappears, debts become a major

Some economists fear that the United States will be lucky during the 1990s to match the record of the '80s when the amount of goods and services produced by each worker rose a scant 0.8 percent a year.

Mr. Dornhusch and many other experts regard that as a poor economic performance because the slow increase of productivity and a growing concentration of income among more highly paid employees left the real wages of average workers lower than they

were 10 or 15 years ago. Furthermore, with output per worker going up so slowly in the '80s, the major source of economic growth was a rapid increase in the size of the work force as an ever greater share of women sought jobs. U.S. gross domestic product rose an average of 2.2 percent a year only because of all those added workers.

Unfortunately, Mr. Dornbusch said, the work force in the 1990s is projected to expand much more slowly, both because the population is not increasing as rapidly and because it is unlikely that the participation of women will keep rising strongly.

Concern over such longer-term prospects was stated repeatedly last month when members of the House Ways and Means Committee asked a number of economists what should be done to spur the lagging economy.

"The economic problems that the United States faces today are not new," said Barry Bosworth, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. They have little to do with a minor recession and will not be solved by a tax cut, he added.

"After a decade or more in which Americans have been unwilling to invest in the future, they should not be surprised that the future looks a little grim," Mr. Bosworth said.

The centerpiece of his argument was a chart showing that as income gains lagged, consumers kept right on spending. Over the decade, the share of national output going for personal consumption rose from about 63

See RECOVER, Page 9

As the Dollar Travels Up, Is Its Ticket One-Way?

By Carl Gewirtz

International Herald Tribune PARIS — Currency traders were spooked by the dollar's powerful recovery last week. Not only did the rebound come out of nowhere, catching everyone by surprise by rising 5.5 percent against the Deut-sche mark, it also looked eerily like a replay of last year.

At the outbreak of the Gulf war the dollar fell, hitting a record low of 1.4430 DM on Feb. 11, 1991. It then snapped back to begin a five-month rally that carried it to a high of 1.837 DM on July 5 with hardly a setback. Although a temporary pullback was repeatedly forecast by analysts, it never materialized until doubts about the U.S. recovery set in.

Now again, experts anticipate the dollar must fall back a bit before it can resume its widely forecast upward trend. But the question haunting the market is: Will it fall back, or is the market poised for a replay of last February? "Lots of players remember last

February and don't want to miss the boat this year," says Jim O'Neill, London-based analyst for Swiss Bank Corp. He expects the dollar to "try to breach 1.60 DM"

this week. It ended at 1.5845 DM treat before resuming its advance last week.

"The short-term trend for the dollar clearly is up," comments Si-mon Crane, an adviser to technical traders. "But it must get over 1.605 DM and then the dollar could do quite well.

For Paul Chertkow, Citibank's chief currency strategist in Lon-don, "a move above 1.60 DM would provide an early indication of a medium-term uptrend." He looks for a rise above 1.65 DM to confirm the recovery, which be believes will push the dollar back to 1.80 DM.

He and Mr. Crane agree that the dollar would have to fall below 1.55 DM to break the current buoyant atmosphere.

By contrast, David Fuller, chairman of Chart Analysis Ltd. in Lon-don, believes that "this is no more than a technical rally. The dollar could go a hit higher, but it will soon run out of steam. I don't think we've seen the dollar's low - first because the Americans want a competitive devaluation and second because the Germans are happy with a lower dollar and don't care."

and Frankfurt, who asked not to be age point in the mark's favor comidentified, expect the dollar to re- pared to the current 5.375 points.

- soon for the German banker, later this year for the American.

The Frankfurt banker, gloomier about the prospect of a recession in Germany that would bring interest rates down, sees the dollar retracing to the mid-1.50s against the mark before ettempting to leap over the 1.65 DM barrier. Once over that hurdle, possibly within a

to 1.90 DM. The New York banker believes that the extreme negativism con-cerning the outlook for the dollar has been broken, but he also insists that "the basics are intact" to keep the dollar soggy against the Euro-Dean currencies.

month, he sees the dollar climbing

These basics are the huge difference in short-term interest rates. At current levels, speculators are paid to bet against the dollar by shorting the currency. It costs 4.125 percent to borrow dollars, which can then be sold for marks and put on deposit to earn almost 9.5 percent.

It's worth noting that in February 1991, at the time of the dollar's low against the mark, the interest-Bank treasurers in New York rate differential was 2.375 percent-

That narrower spread may have belped trigger the dollar's recovery. Looking at last week's moves, analysts agreed that banks and other institutional investors had established substantial shorts against the dollar, which drove the dollar down

to its low of 1.5050 DM. When suddenly the dollar started to rise in value, the shorts were covered: Marks were sold for dollars, creating a buying panic for the

U.S. currency.
The New York hanker also reports that U.S. investors who had bought substantial amounts of German government bonds unloaded those holdings in the past week. In part this was aimed at profiting from the substantial rise

German bond prices. The banker stresses that this was a one-time event and not a continuing source of support.

Barring a real deterioration in the political situation in Eastern Europe, which could frighten European investors to seek safety in North America, he believes the high differential between shortterm German and U.S. interest rates will keep the dollar weak. This is not a repeat of February

1991; there won't be a runaway rise in the dollar," be said.

'Strong' Growth in Germany

Rates No Brake, Bundesbank Says

FRANKFURT — Germany's economy will grow about 2 percent in 1992, which is a notable rise in the global context and illustrates that high interest rates are not braking growth, the Bundesbank president, Helmut Schlesinger, said Sunday.

"In view of the economic shape the rest of the world is in, that is hy all means a remarkable growth rate," German radio quoted him as saying in excerpts of a taped interview for Sunday broadcast.
His comments appeared some

what more conciliatory toward other industrial nations, which have called on Germany to concentrate more on growth than on whipping inflation through high rates, than those on Friday by his deputy.

Hans Tietmeyer. In a speech, Mr. Tietmeyer, the Bundesbank's vice president, said that German interest rates would generally have to stay fairly high for the foreseeable future.

Mr. Schlesinger said that growth adjusted for inflation would be 1.5 to 2 percent in Western Germany in 1992 after gains of 4.5 percent in 1990 and 3.5 percent last year. Growth in Eastern Germany would be near 10 percent, he added.

His growth forecast for 1992 was in line with predictions by the ecotiomics minister, Jürgeo Mölle-mann, published on Saturday, Mr. Möllemann, however, put a different emphasis on the figures. He said that 1 to 2 percent growth amounted to standstill, although not to a recession.

The Federal Statistics Office on Wednesday is to release data on Germany's economic performance in 1991. Analysts and economists bave said that they expected the West German economy to have grown by 3.25 percent to 3.5 per-

Mr. Schlesinger said that his growth forecast for 1992 showed that the Bundesbank's policy of high interest rates was not strangling Germany's economy. The central bank raised key rates hy half a percentage point in December.

Mr. Schlesinger reiterated that German pay increases for 1992 that would exceed 1991's average increase of 6.7 percent would lead to trouble later.

Mr. Möllemann, too, called for low pay settlements. "We would rather see zero income growth in real terms for this year than negative economic growth next year, be told a German magazine.

A Word to Detroit From Japanese Buyers

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DIVIDEND ANNOUNCEMENT

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ECU 0,0437 per share for the British Fund payable against presentation of coupon No. I,

ECU 0,0072 per share for the Emerging Asia Fund payable

ECU 0,0116 per share for the European Fund payable against

to shares subscribed and in circulation on December 31st, 1991 payable on

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By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

TOKYO - The very moment that President George Bush and American automobile executives were calling on Japan to buy more American cars, Tomio Sakamoto was looking over a shiny black Cadillac Seville in a showroom on the Ginza, where it was selling for a pricey \$60,000.

that my friend had a Pontiac, and it gets loose and the blinker lever dropped. It's unbelievable it was so

badly made." American cars were on Japanese minds last week because of Mr. Bush's four-day visit, which ended on Friday. Talk of cars echoed in the prime minister's office, among the bureaucracy and in business corridors. But showrooms were a good place to hear discussions from

the real experts: consumers. Among those interviewed at random at showrooms in central Tokyo, the comments were similar. Mr. Bush's efforts to get Japanese to buy cars would produce little unless Detroit made better cars, geared to Japanese tastes.

At the same time, many of those interviewed felt that American cars would find a niche here if they could be marketed with e few crucial adjustments, most notably moving the steering wheel to the right-hand side of the car. I'm in the advertising business

so if they asked me to promote American cars, I bet I could come up with something that would work," said Hiroshi Minamidate. standing near a Pontiac Grand Am. Asked what that might be, he paused, tilted his head and said finally, "Maybe status?"

At present, American cars account for only slightly more than 16,000 of the 5.1 million cars sold in Japan each year, or a little more than three-tenths of 1 percent. The most popular cars are sports models like the Chevrolet Corvette, the Pontiac Grand Am and several Cadillac models.

According to dealers, the poor image of American cars in Japan took root in the late 1970s and early 80s amid resentment in Japan at being pressed to adopt restraints on car exports to the United States. "Japanese say American cars are

images are out of date. American cars have improved and Japanese are buying bigger cars."

Other analysts say American cars will never be competitive until they are backed by solid warranties and with the kind of service and repair networks that Japanese in-sist on. Doing so would be a major investment that American compa-"Of course I might buy an American car," said Mr. Sakamoto, 43, a graphic designer. "But I remember cars would sell."

The high prices of American cars breaks down very often. The brake in Japan are a result of costs for shipping, Japanese standardization and high markups by dealers. Dealers and other specialists also agree that although American cars may have improved in quality, more work needs to be done.

American carmakers bave declined to put steering wheels on the tion illustrates the need for Ameriright side because of the expense, but without the steering-wbeel changes, it is unlikely that they will ever sell many cars.

"The steering wheel is not a trivial thing," said Hideo Tanaka, an advertising executive. "If it's on the wrong side, you can't get tickets at toll booths or parking lots. It's a big nies might not be willing to make missance." But he added that for car buffs like himself, real quality could overcome even this sort of

The high prices of American cars - far higher than in the United States — pose another problem. Dealers insist pn a big markup tp compensate for low sales volume. but the low volume keeps the prices

As the Japanese see it, this situacan automakers to be willing to sacrifice in the early stages for success later, as the Japanese did in

America.
"I know American cars are very strong, but for Japanese people they are too big and their mileage is too low," said Keiko Shimizu, a teacher, at a Nissan showroom. "If Americans learn how to be more flexible and work hard, they can produce cars that Japanese people

will bury. ■ Hills Praises Accords

The U.S. trade representative, Carla A. Hills, said Mr. Bush's mission had made "dramatic changes" toward opening Japan's markets to U.S. products. Reuters reported from Washington.

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FORD MOTOR CREDIT COMPANY By: THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK (National Association),

as Fiscal Agent Dated: January 13, 1992

1-800-882 2884 too big, too hard to maintain and inefficient in their mileage," said Teruo Ishii, a spokesman for Yanase & Co., the largest-volume (IN NEW YORK, CALL 212-752-3890)

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New International Bond Issues Compiled by Laurence Desviletter Mat. Coup. Torons Fleating Rate Notes Australian & New 1995 · K- 100 Zealand Banking Over 6-month Libor, Reoffered at 99.825. Noncollable, Fees 0.275%. Denominations \$10,000, (USS—Philips & Drew Secu-Group Deutscho DM 125 2002 111/6 100 Ausgleichsbank merest will be 1136% in first year and 15% less 6-month Libor thereafter, Noncollable, Fees 0.30%, (Trinkaus & Burldwardt.) Bradford & Bingley £100 Over 3-stontis Libor. Reaffered at 99.76. Noncollable. Feet 0.34%. Denominations £10,000. (Credit Suisse First Baston.) **Building Society** Bristol & West £150 · 1996 Over 3-month Libor, Reaffered or 99.72, Noncolloble, Fees 0.43%, Denominations £10,000, (L.P. Morgan Securities.) **Building Society** Banco di Roma 1997 Over 6-month Libor, Reoffered at 99.85. First collable at par in 1994, Fees G.28%. Denominations 10,000 Ecus. (Merrill Lynch Fixed-Coupons Abbey National Treasury Services **BOC Group** Reoffered at 99.865. Nancallable, Fees 17/%, (Credit Susse First Baston.) \$150 1997 7 101.365 98.80 CIA Hening 1994 10 94.8613 Semionnucity. Noncollable private placement. Fees 11/2%. Denominations \$10,000. (ABN Arero Holding.) Crédit Local de \$500 2002 open open Terms to be set Jan. 13. Noncollobis. Fees 0.325%. (Deutsche France Daiwa Int'i Finance \$100 2006 7% 100 First collable at par in 2001. Fees 26%. Den \$100,000. (Daiwa Bank Capital Management.) Forte 1994 5% 100.805 99.45 Reoffered at 99.93. Noncollable. Fees 1%%, (Goldman Sochs Int'll.) Nestlé Holdings 1997 61/6 101.025 98.90 Reoffered at 99.40. Noncollable, Fees 17/%. (Swiss Bank Ontario Province \$1,000 1999 Reoffered at 99.287. Noncollable, Fees 176%, (Merrill Lynch 100,862 Philip Morris Capital \$200 . 1997 . 6% 101.525 Reoffered of par. Noncollable, Fees 1%/6. (Credit Suisse First Toyota Motor Credit \$250 1997 61/2 101.575 at 99.95. Noncollable, Fees 195%, U.P. Morgan Corp. World Bank \$1;500. 2002 6% 99.071 99:10 Semiornucilly. Noncollable. Fees 0.325% (Deutsche Bonk Copitel Morkets.) **Austria** DM 500 First collable at par in 1994. Fees 29/%. Also 5 million warrants, issued at 3.35 maria each, enabling holders to buy 5,000 marts in additional notes at 100%. (Commerchank.) 2002 8 Deutsche Bank DM 400 2002 8 101% 99.55 Noncollable, Fees 29% (Deutsche Bank.) Finance Netherland Europaeische 814 -1011/2 100.10 Noncollable. Fees 114%. (Frankfurter Hypothekenbank Hypothekenbank European Investra 2002 101% -100.55 Callable of par in 2000. Fees 136%, (Commorzbank) Bank Fig: Finance & Trade DM 200 1997 8% 101.70 . 99.50 Noncallable. Fees 2% Deutsche Bank.) General Flectric 814 102.30 100.20 Noncollable. Fees 2%, U.P. Morgan Frankfurt.) Copital Corp. Bayerische £125 1997 10¼ 100.475 ---Reaffered at 98.90. Noncollable. Fees 176%. (Lehmon Brothers Int'L) Hypotheken und Wechselbank Leeds Permonent 1994 101/2 101.178 — Noncollobie, Fees 136%, (Natwest Capital Markets.) **Building Society** Southern Electric £150 2002 10¼ 100.84 Reoffered at 99,215. Noncollable, Fees 2%, De £10,000. (Credit Suisse First Boston.) £200 2002 10% 100.86 -Reoffered at 99.235. Noncollable. Fees 2%, [Credit Suine First Compagnie Bancaire Noncaliable, Fees 0.275%. (Paribos Capital Markets Group.) 1996 914 99.68 99:58 collable. Redemption amount at maturity will be linked to erformance of the CAC-40 stock index. Feet 2%, (Sangue Crédit Foncier de FF 500 2000 zero Le Crédit Local de FF 400 2000 — Coupons coloutated annually on the basis of changes in the CAC-40 stack index, but payments will be made at redemp-France ncies, but payments will be made at redemp lie. Fees 19%. [Crisse des Dépôts et Consigno Aegon__ DF 500... 1997... 894: 101.10 100.30 Benffired at 100.30 Noncallable, Feet 1% (ABN Armo Caisse Nationale de 8% 100.60 99.95 Reoffered at 99.80. Noncollable. Fees 1% (Robobank Neder land) DF 200 1997 Crédit Agricole National DF 150 1997 814 100.90 100.25 Reoffered of 100.10. Noncollable. Fees 1%, Rabobank Ne-Investeringsbank DF 200 - 1997 8% - 101 - 100.30 Raoffered of 100.15, Noncollable, Feet 1%, (NAVB Postbank.) Nationale Nederlander General Electric M. 175,000 1995 111/2 101.175 99.82 Noncollable. Fees 1%%. [Paribos Capital Markets Group.] Capital Corp. **Finland** Noncollable, Fees 0.45%, Deno Phillips & Drew Securities.) General Bectric Capital Corp. Reoffered at 100.05. Noncellable. Fees 1366. (Credit Suisse First Boston.) "BM Int'l Finance Reoffered at 100,225. Noncollable, Fees 0.875%. (Parities Capital Markets Groun) Rabobank Noncollobis. Fees 0.375%. Denominations 10,000 Ecus. (Crédit . ECU 400 - 2007 Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer 100:20 Reoffered at 100:332. Noncafiable, Fungible with outstanding issue, raising total to 500 million Eaus, Fees 1 1/1%, (Bardays de Zoete Wedd Securities.) European Bank for 1014 101.60. 100.00 Noncollable. Feet 196%. (Svenska Handelsborden.)

EUROBONDS: Speculative Balloon Is Deflated

DM 130 1996 516 . 700

(Continued from first finance page) found a good response. Nestle, a rare borrower whose long-term deht is not rated, sold \$200 million of five-year notes carrying a cou-pon of 6.125 percent and reoffered at 99.40 for a spread of only 24 basis points over Treasury paper.
But dealers complained that the \$200-million, five-year offering from Philip Morris, an A credit, was too stingy at a spread of 70 basis points over the benchmark. lts paper, reoffered at par, carries a coupon of 6.75 percent. On Friday, the company tapped the U.S. market for \$500 million with 10-year

Reconstruction and

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Eleportfinans

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Crédit Local de

notes yielding 7.61 percent for a spread of 77 basis points. The heavy flow of new issues in the European currencies - Dentsche marks, European currency units, guilders, pounds, French francs, lire and Swedish kronor was for the most part not fully placed by week's end.

Dealers report considerable divergence in investor attitudes.
Some, they say, are seeking to lock in long-term paper on the assumption of lock in l in long-term paper on the assumption that rates will not rise further. ported plenty of loose paper at Others are seeking short-dated pa-

In addition, the year-end rally appears to have overheated.

1997 7% 101.175 98.60 Reoffered at 99.575, Noncollable, Fees 1966, Paribos Capital Mariada Group.)

Reoffered at 100.70. Noncollable, Fees 194%, Kredietbank,

101.45 99.50 Reoffered at 99.35, Noncollable, Fees 19%, (Paribas Capital Markets Group.)

100 101.00 Noncolloble. Each 5,000-mark note with five worrants exercisely into company's shares at an expected 259% premium.

Fees 244%. Terms to be set Jan. 13, (Commerzbank.)

101.50 Noncollable. Each 5,000-mork note with five warrants exercisable Into .company's shares of an expected 297% premium. Fees 297%, Terms to be set Jon. 13, (Nonsura Bank Dwinschland.)

CS 150 1997 7% 100.95 98.60 Reoffered at 99.35. Noncollable. Fees 1994. (Scotiat/Icland.)

We are bullish for the German, bond market in 1992," says Bob Tyley, London-based analyst at Paribas Capital Markets. However, the market appears to have run ahead of itself early on in the year and we expect a period of consoli-

General Electric Capital Corp., a rare issuer of DM paper, scored a notable success with its 250 million DM of five-year notes offered at 102.30 carrying a coupon of 8.25 percent to yield nearly a quarter point below comparably dated German government paper. The rarity of the name and its AAA rating appealed particularly to Swiss investors, managers said.

Both the European Investment Bank, exempt from withholding tax for Italians, and Austria issued

per in the belief these instruments offer greater potential gains once official monetary policy is eased.

The Austrian issue includes an equal number of so-called harmless warrants that can be exercised because of the control of t tween 1994 and 1996. As warrants are exercised, Austria can call for early redemption its initial bonds so that no more than 500 million DM is ever outstanding. However, investors betting on a decline in long-term rates do not want bonds that are callable.

The warrants are sold at 3.35 DM each and give the right to buy noncallable paper at a price of 100.25. For them to be profitable, interest rates need to fall by nearly a quarter percentage point by 1994 and by nearly half a point by 1996.

· The most attractive paper last week, analysts agreed, was that in guilders from Aegon, Crédit Agricole, National Investeringsbank and Nationale Nederlanden - all five-year issues carrying coupons of 8.75 percent. Yields on guilder paper are 44 basis points higher than what's available in Deutsche marks and are expected to narrow sharply as the Netherlands is seen maintaining a tighter grip on infla-

Treasuries Taking a Breather After Long Rally

Compiled by Our Staff From Duspatches NEW YORK - The Treasury bond market seems ready for a rest after December's 61/2-point rally, traders and analysts said.

On Friday, the 30-year Treasury bond plunged 24/32 of a point, cutting the long bond's gain to 1/32 for the week, even though the news. wasn't entirely negative for fixedincome securities. The December employment report was surprisingly strong, but the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, said the Fed stands ready to cut interest rates further if needed.

Treasury bonds were also stymied by the wave of new corporate debt that is lapping over the mareconomy weakens. The unemploy-

ket, said David Duerson, head of ment rate increased to a five-year- find good support around these levgovernment bond trading at Secu-nty Pacific National Bank

"I think the market has gotten a bit of a scare the last couple days," U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

Mr. Duerson said. Bond prices also fell Thursday. It may take until February before the debt is digesied, he said. Expecting a decline of 76,000 ment said payrolls increased by 31,000. Yet the report also contained some positive elements for

265,000 from 241,000.

from 106 6/32 a week earlier. Some traders downplayed the effect of the U.S. data and emphasized the market's readiness for a

"There has been a big run-up, and jobs in December, investors were now people are just taking some stunned when the Labor Depart- profits, said William Brachfeld, an executive vice president at Daiwa Securities America Inc.

Other analysis were more sanbond prices, which rally when the guine about the price outlook. "I would expect the market to

high of 7.1 percent, and Novem- els in the next few days," said Anber's job losses were revised to thony Karydakis, senior financial economist at First National Bank of

The bond due 2021 finished the Chicago. "I would not be surprised week at 106 7/32 to yield 7.47, up if it tried to make a comeback." He said that if December retail sales to be reported this week are very weak, hopes could "flare up' that the Federal Reserve may again ease credit. Such speculation

should benefit shorter paper. Last week, however, short-term Treasury bill rates rose on a perception that chances for another reduction in short-term rates were flickering. Three-month bills were offered at a discount rate of 3.80 percent late Friday, up 5 basis points.
(Bloomberg, NYT. Reuters)

LONDON - HSBC Holdings PLC, formerly known as the Hong-Kong & Shanghai Bank, is putting its stake of about 15 percent in

Midland Bank PLC up for a sale. news reports said Sunday. A report in The Independent on Sunday newspaper said the decision ends all chances of HSBC reviving its merger plans with Mid-

HSBC Reportedly

To Sell Midland

land and may open the ailing U.K. bank to a takeover bid from else-

HSBC plans to use the proceeds from the sale to finance an alliance with a cootineotal European bank.

Italy Unblocks A Portion of Iraq's Assets

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches ROME - Italy has partially unblocked Iraqi assets fro-zen after Iraq invaded Kuwait m August, 1990.

Up to 10 percent of Iraqi assets in Italian banks can now be used to pay for Italian exports, according to the govern-ment's Official Gazette.

Rome froze all Iraqi assets on Aug. 5, 1990. At the time, direct Iraqi investment in Italy totaled about 13 billion lire (\$10.9 million). Italy ran a 91 billion lire

trade deficit with Iraq in the first five months of 1990. The government wants to see Italian exporters paid for products they delivered to Iraq before the embargo and to relieve the Italian export guaran-tee agency, which is said to have insured around \$2.5 billion in exports to Iraq.

RECOVER:

(Reuters, AFP)

(Continued from first finance page)

A Rocky Decade?

percent to an average of 68 percent n recent years.

For three decades prior to the '80s, total national savings had averaged more than 8 percent of net national product — a measure of national income that takes out business allowances for depreciation. In the first half of the 1980s, the figure dropped to 4.9 percent and then to 2.9 percent from 1986 to 1990.

At the same session in New Orleans at which Mr. Dornbusch spoke, the Harvard economist Martin S. Feldstein, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, argued that one byprod-uct of the ballooning federal defi-cits of the early 1980s was a large rise in the value of the dollar and a concomitant loss of American competitiveness on world markets.

The resulting rise in the U.S. trade deficit was the counterpart of the inflow of foreign capital that kept domestic investment from falling as

But Mr. Feldstein said that research he and other economists have done suggests that in most industrial nations an inflow of foreign money is likely to prop up domestic invest-ment only for a limited time.

If a country's level of savings falls and stays down, then its investment will eventually follow, he said. Even-tually, continued low investment "would mean a very slow growth in future productivity and in the

American standard of living."
To an unusual degree, the recession has caused American workers to question what the future will bring. One reason may be that an unusually large share of them suffered through one or more spells of unemployment last year.

The number of claims filed for uncomployment benefits suggest that 23 million persons lost their jobs last year, compared with 30 million in the previous recession in 1982,

Consumers feel in their bones that they are worse off than 10 years ago," said Mr. Dombusch. "They don't have a lot more income, they have a lot more debt, and they are far more vulnerable."

However, the loss of confidence has been overdone, Mr. Dornbusch added, though that might not turn out to be a bad thing, depending on how government responds.

The country is not bankrupt, there will not be another 1930s and

the average American will not be

paying rent to a Japanese landlord," he said.

Japanese Role Seen in Bonds For Republics

Agence France-Presse TOKYO - The former Soviet Union asked Japanese seand help it float gold-backed bonds on the Tokyo and European financial markets, a newspaper reported Sunday.

Yomiuri Shimbun, quoting brokerage sources, said the in-quiries were expected to be brought up again now that the Commonwealth of Indepen-dent States had emerged. Jap-anese firms are likely to go along if certain conditions are satisfied, the newspaper said.

The proposed issuance of bonds is designed to secure hard currency while preventing a further outflow of gold reserves, Younuri said.

MERGERS: When Companies Go Cold on Fusion, M&A Scientists Suffer

(Continued from page 1) phenomenon to ignite on the Con-tinent. "The big M&A boom tended to be an Anglophone phenomenon," said Mr. McCarthy, who noted the huge volume of deals in the late 1980s came in Britain, America, Australia and Canada.

It was widely expected the Contiment would be next. Instead, even there the trend was down last year. According to the publication Acquisitions Monthly, cross-border mergers and acquisitions in Europe was worth £12.7 billion in the first nine months of 1991, about half the £23 billion in the comparable period of 1990.

feeling was that those outside the market - the U.S. and Japan would find it necessary or advantageous to establish European beach heads. That proved not to be the case." The slumping economy in the United States and the sickly Tokyo stock market took their toll. In 1991, the value of all foreign acquisitions by Japanese companies plunged almost 80 percent.

In part, the slack on the Contioent was taken up by an unexpected surge in intra-European company swapping, but only in part. Europe's biggest deal last year

Iraq May Export Oil in 2d Quarter

Gulf crisis.

M

Bid Ask

LONDON - Iraq could resume exporting oil sometime between April and June, oil industry execu-tives said Sunday after talks between Iraqi and UN officials.

Such a development could put further pressure on oil prices, already soft because of high output from Saudi Arabia and other OPEC producers.

During the talks in Vienna that ended on Friday, the United Nations and Iraq reached several arcas of agreement on oil exports, which were halted by UN resolu-tions barming trade with Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait.

But more meetings are likely before either side changes the terms

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and conditions for the resumption of oil sales. "My gut feeling is there won't be any Iraqi oil for another three months minimum," said one U.S. executive in London.

An Iraqi comeback in the second quarter could cause problems for the rest of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries when the cartel meets Feb. 12 in Geneva. Oil prices are more than \$4 be-

low OPEC's \$21 target price. Iraq, the largest oil exporter after Saudi Arabia, has been off the market for 17 months, and when it comes back production is likely to be less than half the 3 million barrels per day it pumped before the

company Nationale Nederlanden. worth about 11.2 billion guilders (\$6.3 billion).

"There is quite a lot going on in places like France and Italy - it is up from historical levels — but it is -still quite small," said Win Bischairman of the merchant bank J. Henry Schroder Wagg.

There is more ailing the mergers market than litters over economic prospects. Some observers suggest that one of the lessons learned from the 1980s is that it is far easier to buy a company than to make the acquisition work or even to pay for it. Scores of deals were done in the 1980s by executives like Robert Maxwell and Polly Peck's Asil Nadir, men who were willing to het their companies by taking on immense debt burdens to pay for acquisitions. Men who, along with their shareholders, lenders and employees, lost those titanic bets.

There are many people who were recently bailed as heroes and who are now out in the trash beap," Mr. Agius said. "That has to con-centrate the mind."

The whole psychology has changed, oot just among corporate leaders but, crucially, among their lenders as well. There are, Mr. voo Simson said, a number of examples of good, sound leveraged bids, "but when banks are writing off large amounts of money on loans to cor- side advisers. Thus even if business

With Europe drawing closer to-gether, said Mr. von Simson, "The NMB Postbank and the insurance cial bids. These are bids that aim to break up the target company and make a quick killing by selling the

pieces. "The transactions we are seeing are oow almost always between industrial buyers and sellers," said Tony Freeman, head of mergers and acquisitions at Merrill Lyoch

in Londoo. Also on the rise are a whole array of arranged deals, where two companies agree to do anything from swapping a division to taking a minority shareholding as a first step toward a partnership. Such deals have long been the way husiness is done on the Continent. where a combination of regulations and traditions make an Anglo-Saxon-style hostile bid all but impossible. That is what Pirelli found out last year in its hugely costly and unsuccessful bid to take over the German tiremaker Cootinental.

One British merchant banker refers to the classic European agreed deal as "more of a seduction than a rape." It is, he said, "a long process of persuading them of the benefits of a closer relationship."

For the M&A professionals the problem is that the agreed deals are far less lucrative, in terms of their fees, than a straightforward hostile bid. In fact, these deals are commonly accomplished with no outporations they will probably now on the Continent did pick up, it want to err on the side of caution." As leveraged transactions have ever replace business in Britain.

UTUAL FUND	Bld Ar SunAmerica Fds;		
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Euromarts At a Glance

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WORLD STOCKS IN REVIEW

Amsterdam

The market made a good start to 1992 with volume last week increasing almost daily and totaling 11:3 billion guilders, of which 3.2

billion was equities.
The CBS all-share index did not reflect the positive tone of the mar-ket as the bellwether Royal Dutch lagged behind. The index closed on Friday at 194.6, down from 196 the previous week.

The major force behind the strong market is the fall in shortand long-term interest rates.

The brokerage Kempen & Co. predicted higher share prices as ong as the interest rate trend con-

Frankfurt

The market overcame early losses to end last week with the DAX spot trend gaining a modest 12.09 points, to close at 1,615.71 on

The bad start to the week was influenced by worry about high union wage demands and fears of even higher interest rates. But ten-sion declined on Thursday on ru-mors that business and labor had reached agreement.

Volume on the eight German ex-changes totaled 22.86 billion Dentsche marks for the week, a big increase over the 10.73 billion DM of the previous week, which included one holiday.

Hong Kong

Shares rose to an all-time high during roller-coaster trading last week. The Hang Seng Index gained 41:79 points to close at 4,348.92 Friday,

Average daily volume soared to 1.57 billion Hong Kong dollars from the previous week's 975 milhon dollars.

The Hang Seng fell slightly on Monday as the market worried about the prospect of selective U.S. trade sanctions against imports from China. But prices leapt on Tuesday, pushing the Hang Seng to a record high of 4,347.93, as over-seas institutional buyers returned after the holiday.

The Hong Kong Association of Banks decided to keep interest rates unchanged.

London

Stocks suffered last week over concerns about the weak pound. the state of the British economy and political uncertainty in an elec-

The FT-SE 100 Index fell 26.2 points on Friday. points to 2,477.9.

Traders are most womied that Traders are most worried that back on the market and on Thurs-British interest rates could have to day trading reached 5.3 billion rise, with potentially disastrous im-francs worth of shares—a level not plications for the ruling Conserva- seen for more than a year. tives and the economy as it strug- Michelin was beiped by the angles out of recession.

among the worst affected by the motor show.

downtrend. A series of broker downgrades left Barclays, Lloyds, Midland and National Westminster-banks down on the week.

Milan

The exchange's MIB index gained 4.7 percent last week to close Friday at 1,048 points.

Daily trading volume also gained each day, reaching a peak of 100 billion lire a day against an average

of 50 billion the previous week.

Trading has benefited from a new rule that all dealing for third parties must be carried out on the bourse. There is also a general sentiment that heavy losses in the final months of 1991 are going to be regained.

Paris

Prices rose on the Bourse last week with new optimism helped by government plans for a new shares investment trust to tap public sav-

shares rose 3.7 percent, to 1,837.44 23,000 level for some time.

Foreign investors seem to be

Michelin was helped by the announcement of its new environment friendly tire at the Detroit mong the worst affected by the

Singapore

Renewed investor confidence helped the Straits Times industrial index gain 7.18 points last week to close at 1.400 for

tion for the soaring stock market. close at 1,488.07. At one point it breached the 1,500 mark but profit-taking on the last two days brought it back down to shareholders.

Just now, chances seem better that the government, seem better that the government of the gover Just now, chances seem better that the government's

By Floyd Norris

New York Times Service

Total volume for the week more than doubled to 275.58 million shares.

Total volume for the week more than doubled to 275.58 million shares.

"As long as things are going well, who will take a gain if there is a possibility of a cut in the capital gains tax?" asks C. Fraser Evans, senior economist at Colo-

U.S.-China Talks

Cast a Shadow

On H.K. Market

Tokyo

nated trading.

The Nikkei Stock Average of 225 selected issues closed the week at 22,381.90 yea, which was 1,424.28 yea or 6 percent below the close on Monday, the year's first trading day.
But the Nikkei was down only 2.6 percent from last year's final trading day, Dec. 30. The market was closed Dec. 31-Jan, 5.

The CAC index of the top 40 the Nikkei would hover around Pessimistic market watchers said

Zurich

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HONG KONG — Talks between China and the United States
that are being held to thrash out
U.S. charges of trade piracy will set
the tone for Hong Kong's stock
market this week, analysts said.
But even if the talks fail and New optimism boosted trading volume and helped add nearly 2 percent to the Swiss Performance Washington levies punitive tariffs on imports from China, burning Index last week.

"There would only be a short-term impact," said Patrick Chot, assistant director at Asia Equity. "I anticipate there will be some fallout, but I think the market has fairly well discounted that," said Howard Gorges, managing direc-tor at South China Securities. "It could drop back a little and then push ahead." But other analysts said the Hang

Seng index, now at about 4,350, could slide sharply if the United States and China fail to reach agreement at the talks, which have a Thursday deadline.

Friday, Jan. 10.

AMERICAN EXCHANGE OPTIONS

To Committee of Control of Contro

Tax Hopes Are Lifting U.S. Stocks Companies now get tax deductions when they pay interest on borrowing, but do not save on taxes when they pay dividends, which is one reason that corpora-tions went deeply into debt in the 1980s, a calculation

that is still damaging the economy. It remains hard to see how that idea could get through Congress, but even the talk may be helping.

But what will happen when the tax situation eventually is clarified? A decision to cut the capital gains rate would provide a reason for nervous investors to take profits, but it might also encourage buyers.

On the other hand, if it becomes clear that capital gains taxes will not be cut, that fact could promote a sell-off. The Oct. 13, 1989, mini-collapse came in nial Mutual Funds, arguing that hopes for such a cut have caused potential sellers to wait. Perhaps even better for stocks would be an end to the same week it became clear that that year's cambrack in volatile, arbitrage-domi
Treasury study last week.

a sell-oil. The Oct. 13, 1989, mini-collapse came in the same week it became clear that that year's cambrack in volatile, arbitrage-domi
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WALL STREET REVIEW

Figures as of close of trading Friday, Jan. 10. Last Chry

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Sources: L30vds Bank, Reuters. U.S. Treasury Bonds Bid Ask Yield 100 s/2 100 m/x 4.84 102 s/2 102 s/x 5.20 100 100 2/2 4.12 98 s/x 99 6.57 104 s/x 104 s/x 6.87 106 s/x 104 s/x 7.47 31.12.93 15.11.94 31.12.96 15.01.99 15.11.61 15.11.21 **J.S. Consumer Rates**

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od Buyer 25-Bond Index Horse Martinose, FNLB overses 8.21%

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday, Jan. 10. (Continued)

NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

CHICAGO EXCHANGE OPTIONS

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FSCORTS & GUIDES

MONDAY SPORTS

Arizona Loses Cool, and Streak, to UCLA

New York Times Service

One of the coolest coaches in college basketball lost his temper, and it contributed mightily to ending the longest home-court winning streak in college basketball.

Behind Don MacLean's 38 points and Darrick Martin's running 12-footer with three-tenths of a second left, and with help from a

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

technical foul by the usually mildmannered Arizona coach, Lute Oison, second-ranked UCLA edged sixth-ranked Arizona, 89-87 on Saturday in Tucson. With the defeat the Wildcats' 71-game home winning streak came to an end. Also on Saturday, No. 4 Kansas

lost to Louisville, and No. 5 Connecticul was defeated by Villanova. In Tucson, Wayne Womack's off-balance 10-footer with 19 seconds left had tied the score at 87 for an Arizona team that rallied from the seven-point deficit that Olson's rechnical foul contributed to. But Martin was able to dribble down

Bruins with 11 seconds left, then make the winning shot.

MacLean, who scored 16 of UCLA's last 21 points, outdueled Chris Mills of Arizona, who finished with 25 points and nine rebounds. And it was MacLean's four free throws - two after the technical foul on Olson - that put UCLA up, 80-74, with just under

six minutes left.

MacLean had been fouled by Khalid Reeves in the act of shooting. Olson objected to the call and the referee, Tom Harrington, hit Olson with the technical. MacLean sank the two foul shots and the two technical foul shots.

■ In other games, The Associated Press reported:

No. 1 Duke 97. No. 14 Georgia Tech 84: Christian Lacttner scored 33 points in Durham, North Carolina, getting 12 straight in the first half to help the Blue Devils (10-0. 4-0 Atlantic Coast Conference) extend this season's longest winning streak to 16. Jon Barry scored 28 for Tech (12-3, 2-1). No. 3 Oklahoma State 86. Mis- as time expired and Michigan State

souri-Kansas City 58: Byron Hous-

State used an 18-0 first-half run to win easily. The Cowboys improved to 14-0 and won their 24th straight home game in Stillwater. Missouri-

Kansas City dropped to 10-4.
Louisville 85, No. 4 Kansas 78: In Lawrence, Kansas. Dwayne Morton had 20 points and started a 9-0 spurt late in the second half as Louisville (8-3) ended Kansas' 24game home winning streak. The Jayhawks (11-1) bad not lost at home since Feb. 13, 1990.

Villanova 79, No. 5 Connecticut 70: In Villanova, Pennsylvania, James Bryson had 19 points and 10 rebounds as Villanova (5-6, 3-1 Big East) handed Connecticut (11-1, 2-1) its first loss of the season.

No. 7 Ohio State 60, Northwestern 52: Jim Jackson scored 21 points and Lawrence Funderburke added 16 as Ohio State (10-1, 2-0 Big Ten) struggled to win in Evanston, Illinois. Northwestern (7-5, 0-2) has lost 24 straight Big Ten games. No. 9 Michigan State 77, Illinois 75: Kris Weshinskey made a lav up

won at bome, in East Lansing, Illi-

many as 16 points before the Spar- 1) had 21 points for Florida. tans (11-1, 1-1) railied.

No. 10 Indiana 79. Wisconsin 63: Reserve Greg Graham scored 17 points and Indiana (11-2, 2-0 Big Ten) overcame a cold first half to win in Madison, Wisconsin. Tracy Webster secred 23 for Wisconsin Minnesota 73, No. 11 Michigan

64: Freshman Voshon Lenard outplayed Michigan's vaunted fresbman class, getting 25 points and eight rebounds as Minnesota (9-6, 1-1 Big Ten) won in Minneapolis. Jalen Rose scored 25 points for the Wolverines (9-2, 1-1). No. 13 Arkansas 101, LSU 90:

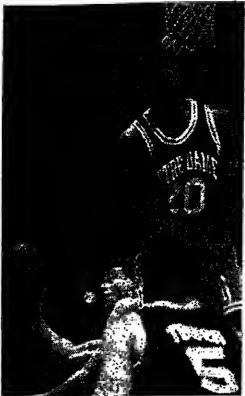
Louisiana. Shaquille O'Neal had 27 points for LSU (7-4, 1-1). No. 15 Kentucky 81, Florida 60: Dale Brown sparked an 8-0 run at the start of the second half with a 3- Eight opener in Ames. Oklahoma

ton scored 28 points and Oklahoma nois (7-5, 1-1 Big Teo) led by as in Lexington. Stacey Poole (8-4, 1-

■ In other upsets of teams ranked in The Associated Press's Top 25: Georgetown 73, No. 18 Seton Hall 65: Alonzo Mourning scored 23 points and dominated inside as Georgetown rallied in Landover, Maryland. The Hoyas (9-2, 2-1 Big East) trailed by 54-46 with 13 minutes left, but limited Seton Hall (9-3, 2-2) to only two baskets the rest of the way.

Florida State 88, No. 19 Wake Forest 85: In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Sam Cassell scored 34 points, sinking a gamewinning 3-pointer with 20 seconds left in overtime, as Florida State (8-4, 2-2 ACC) stopped a 13-game 10dd Day scored 43 points and Arkansas (13-3, 2-1 Southeastern Conference) pressed LSU into 21 mm-overs to win in Baton Rouse

overs to win in Baton Rouge, 71: Freshman Julius Michalik's 3point play with 16 seconds left capped a comeback that rallied lowa State (12-2) to its 10th straight home victory, in a Big pointer and a dunk off a steal that (10-2) led by 61-47 with nine mincarried Kentucky (12-2, 3-0 SEC) utes left.



LaPhonso Ellis, in getting 31 points and 11 rebounds, rose to the occasion for Notre Dame. points.

Irish Beat Tarheels For Another Upset

NEW YORK - LaPhonso Ellis got 31 points and a game-high 11 rebounds and Darmon Sweet scored & career-high 30 points as Notre Dame surprised eighthranked North Carolina with an 88-76 victory over in Madison Square Garden.

With the upset of the heavily favored Tar Heels (10-2), Notre Dame improved its record to 4-5 and stretched its winning streak to three games. That winning streak began Jan. 6 in Los Angeles with a 64-58 defeat of Southern Cal, then ranked 23d.

But the upset on Saturday was different, in that the Irish, six games into nine straight on the road, did not have to rally to beat the Tar Heels. Notre Dame led from the time that Sweet hit a 15-foot jumper with 19 minutes, II seconds left in the first half.

In their three previous victories this season, the Irish had fought back from halftime deficits. They were down by 11 to Valparaiso, by 9 to USC and by 15 on. Thursday before they beat La Salle.

Point guard Elmer Bennett scored 18 points and dished out 10 assists as Notre Dame moved the ball of. the Tar Heels with abandon. The Irish had 26 assists to North Carolina's 20; in addition to outrebounding the. Tar Heeis, 30-25, and outshooting them from the field. 61.8 percent to 47.8 percent.

Hubert Davis led the Tar Heels in scoring with 22

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings EASTERN CONFERENCE WESTERN CONFERENCE

Mispesota 17 31 31 25—164 Boston 29 24 23 16— 94 Gloss 11-160-322, Balley 7-11 6-628; Lewis 12ota 54 (Spencer 1)), Baston 47)Parish 9). to 27 (Richardson, West 7),

Boston 17 (Sogley 13).

Alliwavites 20 30 24 27— 77

New Jersey 24 22 27 29—194

EIIS 8-14 9-0 19, Humphres 5-12 1-2 15; Petrovic 9-13 6-125, Bowle 7-15 9-02z, Rebooads—

Milwautee 47 (Brickowski, Molone, Robert-

Jersey 21 (Blaytock 6).

LA. Cippears 25 17 27 21—99
Phillodelphila 27 39 19 26—102
Rivers 10-15 3-7 23. Mountain 9-19 0-0 18;
Barkley 6-14 8-12 20. Gilliom 8-14 3-3 19. Rebounds—Los Angeles 50 (Polynica 12), Philodelphila 50 (Barkley 14), Assista—Los Angeles
22 (Harper 6), Phillodelphila 27) Dorwichs 6).
Hoossea 28 28 22 26 10—111
Miami 30 21 29 38 6—127
Throcas 1-2-2-4-8 23. (Phillippean 11-25 8-10 36 MOD 17-25 R-10 30 **Monurell 8-16-0-0 20: Long 10-) 4-3-4 21, Selikaly 8-167-9 22, Rica 7-79 2-2 16, Rebounds—Houston 50 (Thorse 14), Miomi 40 (Rice 14). Assists—

Drexter 6-18 5-6 19, Kersey 8-14 0-0 16; Agultre 8-16 5-7 21, Rodman 7-12 2-2 16, Re-bosses—Portland 55 (Drexder 12), Defrolt 55 (Rodman 14), Asists—Portland 23 (Drexder 7), Defrolt 20 (Walker 6).

Securitie 17 27 22 22—74
Delities 16 21 24 17—82
Johnson 8-14 2-2 19, Pierce 4-14 10-10 18:

Johnson 8-14-2-2 19, Pierce 4-14 10-10 16, Harper 10-28 6-8 27, Blackman 8-15 2-2 18. Re-boards—Scottle 56 (Kernp 13), Datics 51 IT.Davis 1a), Assists—Scottle 15)Pavlor 41, Dalics 11 (Horper 51, Oriendo 22 24 24 33—167 Pheenix 27 31 38 25—178 Vincent 7-18 8-9-22, Cottedge 7-147-8-21; Hor-nocek 10-17 3-3 25, Majerie 5-8 7-8 18. Re-boards—Oriendo 51)Cattedge, Turner 91, Physicia 48 (Penry 101, Assists—Oriendo 17

25 24 21—## ## 25 24 21—## ## 20 20 20—102 ## 10-17 3-3 23, Mutembo 8-15 2-4 18; Writing 10-17 3-7 22, Autombo 8-15 2-6 16: Worthy 12-17 2-2 26, Perkins 7-11 0-0 16. Rebounds—Deriver 51 (Autombo 16), Los Anceles 54 (Green 12), Assists—Deriver 28 (Autombo 7), Los Angeles 29 (Threath 11), Son Antonio 28 36 29 27—128 Golden State 27 24 42 27—129

Golden State 27 24 42 27—128 Anderson 16-18-47-26, Robinson 8-16-11-1227; Hardoway 9-20 9-929, Marcluffonts 19-178-829, Maillin 11-18-2-25, Rebounts—San Antonio 35 (Robinson, Anderson 11), Golden State 30 (Owene 11), Assists—Son Antonio 41 (Elliott, Strickland 81, Golden Slate 28 (Hardoway 12). SATURDAY'S RESULTS Baston 22 27 25 12—94 22 27 25 12— 14 31 23 30 17—)40 33, Gamble 11-13 1-2 23;

Boston 12 (Bagley 7), New York 26 (Storks 7). L.A. Clippers 22 20 19 32— 16 Washington 22 25 22 38—167 Norman 13-17 1-227, Manning 8-146-822; Grant tormon 13-17 1-22, monnings-re-e-25 Crush 287-729, Adoms 7-166-622, Ellison 7-15 7-17 21, Bounds—Los Anseles 62 (Normon 12), ashington 47 (Jones 12), Assists—Los Arse-11-287-729-Add

Al 28 25 27—12
Alnos 10-16 3-3 21. Robinson 10-21 6-6 20;
Rewmon 7-16 9-12 24 Gill 10-23 2-1 22, Rebounds—Portland 68 (Williams 11), Charlette
65 (Leckner 12). Assists—Portland 36
(Dresser 7), Charlotte 22 (Bouss, Dill 51,
Philodelphia 22 23 28 21—162 atte 22 (Bogues, Dill 51, 32 23 28 21—102 35 24 33 16—108 Cleveland 35 24 33 16-408
Barkley 7-13 8-9 23, Anderson 10-14 0-0 22.
Gilliam 10-15 2-2 23; Dougherry 6-12 11-12 22.
Price 8-10 3-4 20. Rebounds—Philadelphia: 41
(Barkley 9), Cheviand 49 (Dougherry) 6), As--Philodelphia 24 (Dowkins 10), Cleveland 26 (Dougherty, Brundon 8).
New Jersey 28 19 24 17—88
Detroit 26 23 24 15—90

Wilkins 6-21 8-724, Augmon 6-107-8 19; Miller 11-164-430,3mits 8-144-520, Rebounds - Ation to 59 (Willis 13), Indiana 59 (Schrempf 15). sts Altenta 27 (Wiley 0), Indiana 42 Alimesoto 22 22 28 24—79

J.Molone 15-26 2-2 22 K.Molone 3-14 8-9 14;

Compbell 7-23 7-10 71, Mitchell 8-11 9-0 14, Rebounds—Utoh 63 (Cortion 16), Minnesoto 52

(Spencer 11), Assists—Utoh 32 (Stockton 18),

22 21 17 25— 97 24 32 27 25—108 Rice 9-14 2-222, Lone 6-12 8-10 28; Jordan 10-19 10-1030, Grant 7-12 2-5 16. Rebounds—Mianni 54

Aligmi 17 (Coles 7), Chicoso 23 | Pippen St. Seattle 28 27 25 35—115 | Heiston 23 24 24 25—119 | E_Johnson 10-29 5-6 28, Pierce 9-15 6-10 26; Common 16-12 - 12 Maxwell 8-14 5-5 23. Re-beunds—Sectite 41 | Sen|conin, Cope 7), Hous-ton 43 (Okaluwan 11), Assists—Sectife 30 (Mc-Millon 9), Houston 27 (K.Smith 10). Socramento 26 18 30 22 9–166 Milwarkee 22 33 21 19 8–135

Milmurice 22 33 21 19 8-135 Simmons 8-18 8-10 24, Tisdale 11-20 2-2 24, Richroad 9-20 2-22; Ellis 10-18 5-6 29, Malane 7-15 4-7 18, Rebounds—Socramento 54 ISkm-mons 12), Milmurice 57 (Malone 17), As-sists—Socramento 32 ISimmons, Las 6), Mil-

sists—Sacramento 22 Isimmons, Les 4), Mil-woukee 27 (Humphries 9). San Antosie 33 2s 14 29—94 Denver 22 17 24 22—65 Strickland 9-12 4-6 22, Robinson 9-19 2-2 2s; Williams 8-12 1-1 18, G.Anderson 5-11 2-2 12, Jackson 3-9 5-6 12, Mulembo 4-11 4-6 12, Re-bounds—San Antonia 6) (Cumminss 9), Den-ver 37 (Anderson 9), Assists—San Antonia 18 (Strickland 10), Denver 17) Gartand 71, Major College Scores

Cornell 83, Adetahl 4)
Deloware 90, Towson St, 69
Fordhom 74, Colgate 50 vn 73, Seton Holl 65 Holy Cross 92. Lateyette 85 Ione 70, Lovela, Md. 65 La Salve 85, Canislus 78 Lehigh 7), Army 63 Long Island U. \$2. Mount St. Mary's, Md. 75 Maina 76, Verment 40 Manhatten 72, Bradley 52 Monthouth, N.J. 36, 51, Froncis, Pd. 49 Niogara 82, Doyton 64 Notre Dame 88, North Carolina 76 Penn 31, 102, Merson St. 51 Pittsburgh 88, Providence 72 Princeton 55, Penn 42 Radford 87, Md.-Beltimore County 88 St. John's RS. Baston College 72 Syracuse 73, Miami 57

Alabama 82, NE Ilitinole 56 Austin Pear 84 Murray SI, 85 Compbell 69, Winthrop 59 Cell. of Charleston 84. Coastal Carol Delawars St. 94. Howard U. 95, 20T Duke 97, Georgia Tech 84 Duke 97, Georgia Tech 84
E. Kentucky 64, Tennessee Tech 75
E. Tennessee \$1. 80, Furman 75
Fis. International 72, Stebson 62
Florida ASM 77. 5. Corroling \$1. 68
Florida \$1. 68, Wake Forest 85, OT
Georgia Southern 86, Georgia \$1. 87
Jackspaylle 78. Cent Elepho 74 Jacksonville 78, Cent. Florida 74 Lames Admillage ST. N.C. Wilmington M N. Caraline St. 94, Maryland 88 N.C. Charlotte 85. South Florida 75

SW Louisiona 79, W. Kentuci Somiord 73, Mercer 53 Siena 90, N.C.-Greensboro 61 Vanderbill 79, South Carolina 75 Vanderbill 79, South Corolina 75
Virginia Tech 73, Va. Commonwealth
William & Mary 70, American U. 46
MIDWEST
Cent. Michigan 78, Bawilina Green 71
Cincinnati 79, St. Louis 66
Copplis St. 84, Yourgestown St. 65
Copplis St. 55, St. Michigant Et. 61

Creighton 53, SW Missouri St. 4 Creignton SJ, SW Missouri SL 40
DePaul 88. Memphis SL 80
E, Illinois SI, Valouraiso 46
Evansville 88. Butler 83
III.-Chicago 73. W. Illinois 70
Illinois St 73. N. Llowa 66
Indiana 78. Wilconsin 43 Indiana St. 81. Wichita St. 51 Jowa 51, 73, Oktohoma 71 Kansas St. 87, 51U-Edwar Milami, Ohia 59, Keni 49 Michigan 51, 17, Illinois 75

Minnesota 73, Michigan 44 Onlo SI. 60, Northwestern 52 Onlo U. 86, E. Michigan 67 Purdue 17, lowa 69, OT 5. Illinois 63, N. Illinois 65 Tuisa 72, Drake 70 Xavier, Ohio 84, Detroit 40 SOUTHWEST

Houston 83, Boylor 17 McNesse St. 56, 5W Texas St. 55 Miss, Valley St. 78, Protrie View 68 New Orleans 78, Lamor 64 North Texas 65, Sam Houston 51, 64 Diklohoma St. 66, Mo.-Karsos City 38 South Alabama 76. Texas-Pan Ame Southern Meth. 73. Texas A&M 69 Texas BB, Texas Tech \$3 Texas Christian \$4, Ark-Little Rock 69 Texas Southern 53, Grambling St. 70 Texas-El Paso 64, Utah 42 Texas-San Antonio 89, Nicho FAR WEST

Brighorn Young 72, Colorodo St. 51 Fresno St. 82, UC Irvine 55 Howell 77, Wyemino 55 Idaha 76. Boise St. 41 Idaha 50. 96. Nevada 87 Mantana 77. E. Washington 65 Mantana St. 104. Socramento St. 84 Nebraska 84. Calorado 74 Oregon St. 17, California 65 Pocific U. 66. Son Jose 51, 52 Pepperdine 94, Loyola Marymour S. Utah 17, San Diega S1, 78 San Olego 67, Santa Clorus 38 S1, Mary's, Cal. 72, San Froncisco Stanford 78, Oregon 57 UCLA 89, Arlana 27 UNLY 78, UC Sonto Berboro 54 Utoh St. 89, Col St.-Fullerton 72 Washington 78, Washington St. 73, OT Weber St. 96, N. Arizona 61

HOCKEY

WALES CONFERENCE 13 Division
29 14 2 60 142 97
28 18 5 45 151 151
15 20 7 37 140 149
15 20 5 25 124 139
11 27 5 77 135 176 CAMPBELL CONFERENCE

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

Klima)14, Buchberger (11), 5(mpson (12),

NHL Standings

L TPS OF GA 23 12 7 53 149 123 19 10 8 44 140 140 19 16 5 43 164 140 17 16 7 41 155 165

FR)DAY'S RRSULTS Domohousse 1241 2: Mostliny (19), Ledyard (3), Andreychuk (29) 2. Lefontzine (16) 3, Wood (12), Stots on seat; Edmortha (on Molorchuk) 5-10-8-23. Buffale (on Ronford, Foster) 23-7-12-42

Ser, 6-79-24, Pilfshorph I 2 3-5 Cotysery B 2 4-7 Recchi (24). Jogr (20) 2.5 Severs 331). Loney (5); Stern (8), Musil (3), Suriar (3), Nieuwen-dyk (9), MgcInnis (12). Fleury (25), Otto (11).

Jones (6); Leach (20), Janney (11), Neely (6), Ruzicka (19), Wesley (6), Shets on goal: Philodelphia (an Maos) 5-8-34. Boston (an Hautotil 15-14-16-45, Edmonton

Ter) 23-7-12-42.
Los Angeles 2 0 3-4
Washington 1 2 3-7
Robildille (20), Kudelski (157, Blake 157 2;
Burridge (16), Hatcher (111 2, Ridley)17),
Khristich (20), Druce (7), Johansson (10).
Shoft on grad: Los Angeles Jon Beaupre) 14-5-7-22, Washington Jon Hrudey 15-15-10-41. Suffer | 13|, Graham (10); LeBlanc (1), Col 6), Housley (12), Murray (11), Elynuik (14), Barnes (0). Shots on goal: Chicago (on Es-sensa) 7-8-3—18. Winnipeg (on Belfaur, Ha-

Monson (9), Damphouse (25); Carson (19), Gallent (8), Ysobort (24), Miller (10), Yserman (20), Sobts on east: Edmanton (on Cheveldoe) 8-7-8-2—25, Detroif (on Ronford) 7-19-17-4—47.

1 2 1—4 Nottingham Forest 1, Notts County 1
2 1 8—3 Southernston 2, Sheffeld United 4
Castronov (8), West Hom 1, Winbladon 1
: Toronto Ion Sheffeld Wednesday), Leeds 6 Hew Jersey 2 1 8—3 Gilmour (13), Clark (12) 3; Kasatonov (8), Lentieux (26) 2, Shots an godi: Tarante Ion Billingtan) 8-18-8—26, New Jersey (on Fubr)

Leefth (10), Brotes (7), Kerr (1), Amonto (17), Graves (7), King (7), Patrick (6); Small (7), Ragion (3), Shots on gost: New York (on Tugnutt, Fiset) 11-15-12-31. Quebec (on Von-blesbrouck, Richter) 6-15-12-33.

Allianesatu 1 2 4—7 Bruce (13) 2 Wilson (4), Berezon (8); Bu-reou (3), Bellows (17), Tinordi (2), Dohlen (20), Gogmer (17), Johnson (2), Smith (8), Shekson seot; Som Jose (an Casey) 6-11-8-25, Allanesatu Jon hackett, Mythys) 11-14-13-38,

Craven ()4), Houda ()); Soverd (13). McPhee (11) 2, Shets on goot; Hartford (ca

CRICKET

WORLD SERIES CUF
In Brisbone, Abstralla
India vs. West Indias, Seturday
India: 197 (48.3)
West Indias: 1994 (48.3)
West Indias: won by 6 wickets,
Australia vs. West Indias, Synday
West Indias: 215 (49.3 overs)
Australia: 223 (49 overs)
West Indias won by 12 runs
FIRST LIMITEE INTERNATIONAL
New Zaoland vs. Espland

New Zealend vs. England Soturdey, in Ancidend New Zealend Indings: 178-7 (30 overs) England Indings: 179-7 (35.3 overs) England won by 7 wickets

SOCCER

DUTCH FIRST DIVISION
MYV Maastricht 1, Alax Amsterdom 4
PSV Eindhoven 4, Sparla Rotterdom 1
SVV Dordrecht 70 0, Willem I) Tilburg 2

RKC Wootwilk 4. FC Twents 1
De Gradischap DoetInchem 8. FC Utrecht 0
Stadbass: PSV Eindhoven 34 points;
Feyenoord Ratterdam 32; Alox Amsterdam
2); Vitesse Arnhem 26; FC Graningen 24; FC
Twents Enschede 22; Rada JC Kerkrade,
Sparta Rotterdam 21 and FC Utrecht 21; RKC
Wadwijk 20; William II Tilburg 19; SVV/Dordrecht 10, MVV Moostrichl and FC Votendam
17; FC Den Hoog 13; De Granischap Doetinchem 11; Fartuna Sittard 10; VVV Venio 7.
ENGLISH FJRST DIVISION
Arzena) 8, Aston Vilita 0
Cheisea 2, Toltenham 0
Coventry 2, Queens Park Rangers 2

Coventry 2, Queens Park Rangers ; Crystal Paiace 1, Manchester City Liverpool 2, Luton 1 Manchester United 1, Everton 0 Narwich 1, Oldham 2

Shoffield Wednesday), Leads 6 Standings: Leads 52 points; Mo Standings: Leets 52 points: Manchester United 51; Liverpool and Monchester City 41; Sheffield Wednesday 40; Aston Villa 31; Arsend and Crystof Palace 34; Everton and Telenham 32; Notifishem Forest and Chelses 22; Queens Park Rongers 21; Norwich and Oldham 30; Coventry 28; Wimbledon 27; Notis Counity 26; Sheffield United 26; Lirion 22; West Jean 21; Southomaten 19.

Internazionate 1, Borl 0
Napoll 1, Florentina 0
Porma 2, Ascoli 0
AS Romo 3, Cremonese 0
Sompdorio 1, Lazio 0
Torino 1, Abrianta 1
Verana 0, AC Milan)
Standines: AC Milan 27 points: Juventus 3 Standings: AC Millor 27 points: JUNENIA 24 Morel 17, Lordin, Parent and Internationals II.
Torino, Fasolo, Alebanto, Genea and AS Rema 17; Sampdorla 16; Florantina 14; Verna 13; Casillor 11; Cemonese 6; Barl 7; Ascold 6
SPANISH FIRST DIVISION

A Marie Maddel 9.

Logrones 1, Atletico Modrid 0 Real Surges & Real Socieodal | Albacete I, Real Zorogoza | Departive Coruna & Real Oviedo 0 Seorting Gilan & Valencia J Sevillo 4, Tenartia | | Athletic 23500 3, Codiz 1 Burcelong 2, Real Valley Real Madrid S. Osasuna 2 Standings: Real Medrid 29 points: Barcelo

Standings: Read Modard 29 points; is accessor of 4; Artisto Madrid 21; Read Zaraspeza and Valencia 22; Sevilla 20; Real Burgos, Alboate and Sporting Gijon 19; Ovledo 17; Read Sociedad and Lagranes 16; La Coruna and Athletic Bilbao 14; Tenerife and Oscauna 12; Cadiz MATIDMS' CUP

SKIING

World Cup

MEN
Saturdary's top results to the downhill of onds; 2. Parrick Office, Austria, 1:39,59; s. Homslorer Truscher, Germann, 1:51,35; 4. Brion Stemmie. Conada, 1:51,47; 5. Frack Heinzer, Switzerland, 1:51,54; 6. Daniel Mohrer; Switzerland, 1:51,55; 7. Jan Einar Thorsen, Norway, 1:51,46; 8. A.J. Kitt, U.S. North Acceler Switzerland, 31,7 Bc. Downtill steadings: 1. Heinzer, 211 points; 2. Kith. 199; 3. Orlifeb, 178; 4. Leanerd Stock. Austria, 160; 5. Wesmeler, 140; 4. Xavier Glander, 5, Witzerford, 122; 7. Atte Skoordof,

IEC; 18. Touscher, 76.

Seeday's top results to the super-steat stellow of Garmisch-Porteathrichen: 1. Potrick Holzer, Italy, 1 minute, 17.09 seconds; 2. Accele, 1:17.12; 3. Peter Rasinck, Austria, 1; 77.16; 4. Alberto Seelsoullesi, Italy, 1:17.27; 5. Touscher, 1:17.26; 4. Wasmeter, 1:17.27; 7. Urs Lehmony, Switzyrland, 1:17.54; 5. Tom Stiansen, Narway, 1:17.77; 7. Theysen, 1:17.87; 10. Gleenfeld, 1:17.79; 9. Thorsen, 1:17.84; 10. Girordelli, 1:17.90, Super-Glant Statom standings: 1. Accor-128 points: 2. Girardelli, 154; 3. Hoizer, 100; 4. Rzehak, 86; 5. Skaardol, 80; 6. Wasmeler, 78; 7.

Touncher, 72; & Servigopilesi, 65; 9, Urs Koelin, Switzerland, 40; 16. Lehmann, 57, Overell stendings: 1, Albario Tombo, Italy, 800 points; 2, Accobe, 792; 3, Girordelli, 476; 4,

Overell steadings 1. Appears to make the company of 2. Zerbrissen, 193; 3. Kronberser, 177; 4. Vogt. 130; 5. Dedler, 132; 6. Bournissen, 131; 7. Ze-lenskova, 129; 8. Girther, 120; 9. Gloutscheya, 92; 18. Wolllinger, 91.

92: 18. Wollinger, 91.
Sondar's top results in the statom of Schrage:
1. Ginther, 1 minute, SSL2 seconds; 2. Blanco
Fernandez Ochoo, Souln, 1:SSL5; 3. Annelsee
Caberper, New Zeoland, 1:SSL5; 3. Annelsee
Molerthofer, Austria, 1:SSL6; 5. Julie Partislers
U.S., 1:S607; 6. EH Eder, Austria, 1:S6.22; 7.
Pernijko Wibers, Sweden, 1:S6.26; 3. Lara Yeocont, 1toh; 1:S6.40; 7. Korin Buder, Austria,
1:S6.66; 10. Biblana Perez, Italy, 1:S6.87;
Statem standings; 1. Pernadez-Ochoo, 240
onints; 2. Viveni Schudeler, Switzeriand, 360; 2. prints: 2. Vreni Schneider, Switzerland, 180: 2. Journa, J., Vrem accumum, Switzerman, July & Glather, 147; 4. Kronberger, 140; 5. Malerhofer, 126; 6. Boder, 128; 7. Claudio Strobl, Austria, 196; 8. Parinten, 182; 9. Wibero, 18; 10. Cobergor, 84. Overall standings: 1. Kronberger, 479 points: 2. Setzinger, 412; 3. Ghrither, 411; 4. Schnieder, 361; 6. (Hg) Fernandez-Octoo and Carole Merte. France, 364; 8. Voor, 255; 9. Deborch Compoungs.

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SIDELINES

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Angels Laborate Section 1

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TENNIS

NEW SOUTH WALES DEEN

Gobriela Sabatini III). Arpentina, def. Mary Joe Fernandez (4), U.S. 4-2, 4-3; Arantxa Sar-chez Vicario (2), Spoin, def. Anke Huber (8), Germany, 4-4, 7-5, 6-3. Sabattal del. Sanchez Vicario, 6-1, 6-1, MEW ZEALAND OPEN

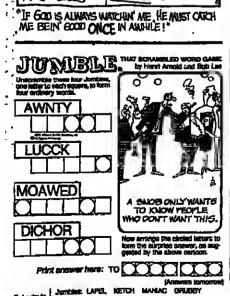
Joinne Yzona, Peru, def. Grunt Connell), Conodu, 6-4.4-2; MatiVal Washinston (7), U.S., def. Marian Zaecka, Germany, 6-2, 6-4, Yzaga def. Washinston, 7-6 (8-6), 6-4,

TRANSACTIONS

MASEBALL. CALIFORNIA-Stoned Rone Gonzales, in ler, and Nel) Alien, pitcher, to mirror

HOUSTON-Signed Raticel Ramirez and Rod





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Answer: The hills of the plant BUNDICK

PEANUTS

BLONDIE

THE MAIL KEEPS COMING LATER AND LATER, MR. BEASLEY

BEETLE BAILEY

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TOLD YOU TO

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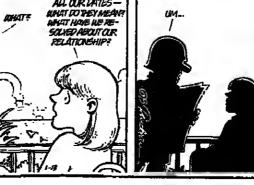






YOU MEAN

SHAPPY"











CALVIN AND HOBBES















TALK LATER!

O Fato

REX MORGAN



CARFIELD



MONDAY SPORTS

Bills Slip by Broncos for AFC Title and Return to Super Bowl

Packers Select Holmgren, Bucs Hire Wyche as Coach

Mike Holmgren has been hired as coach of the Green Bay Packers, leaving only the Pittsburgh Steelers with a coaching vacancy at present.

Holmgran, who had been the San Francisco 49ers' offensive coordinator, got a contract Saturday said to be worth \$2.5 million over five years. He said he accepted the position because of the Packers' strong management and aggressive approach toward recruiting and drafting players. He had interviewed with five other teams. "While the other jobs were very attractive, this was the only place for

ns," he said. "The Packers are set up to succeed."

Holmgren said he planned to hire an offensive coordinator, but would himself play a major role in creating a balanced running and

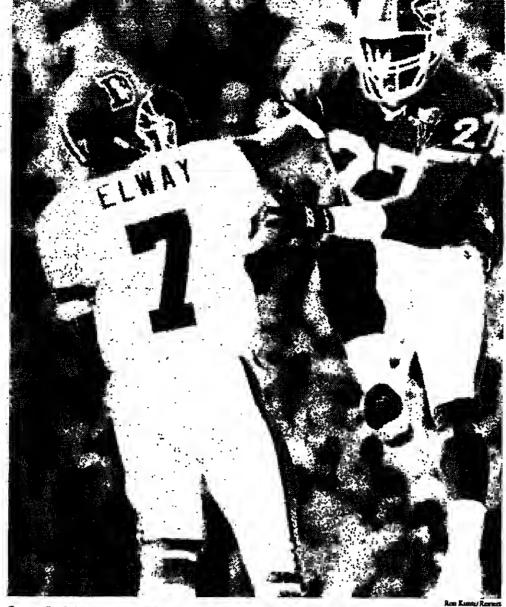
passing game.
"I think the most effective offense is a balanced offense," he said, adding that his work at San Francisco would provide a "great model" for Green Bay. The Houston Oilers' offensive

coordinator, Kevin Gilbride, was to be interviewed Sanday in Pitts-burgh for the Steelers' job, which became open Dec. 26 when Chuck

Gilbride, 40, has been with the Oilers for three seasons, the past two as offensive coordinator Joe Greene, who played his way into the Hall of Fame with the

Steelers; the Dallas Cowboys' descasive coordinator, Dave Wannstedt, and the Kansas City Chiefs' defensive coordinator, Bill Cowher are to be re-interviewed for the job. Friday, Tampa Bay hired Sam Wyche, former coach of the Cincin-nati Bengals, and the Minnesota Vi-kings hired Stanford's coach, Denms Green Green joined the Los Angeles Raiders' Art Shell as the only black head coaches in the NFL.

The Indianapolis Colts, who may fire Rick Venturi, are said to be looking closely at Buddy Ryan, former coach of the Philadelphia Eagles.



Quarterback John Elway barely got off a pass before he was almost overrun by Buffalo's defense. Kubiak, who is retiring after this season, completed 11 of 12 for

Buffalo's Non-Offense Still Prevails, 10-7

-No offense, but Buffalo is going back to the Super Bowl and Denver

Buffalo's no-huddle offense was a no-show Sunday against a bril-liantly prepared Denver defense, and the Bills could get only one touchdown — on defense.

They hroke a scoreless tie in the third quarter on Carlton Bailey's 11-yard touchdown return of a tipped John Elway pass. That helped Buffalo to a 10-7

victory over the Broncos in the American Football Conference championship game and sent the Bills to their second straight Super Bowl, on Jan. 26 in Minneapolis. So defensive was the game that

Deover's backup quarterback, Gary Kubiak, who relieved an in-jured Elway, threw for more yardage than either Elway or Jim Kelly, two of the League's premier quarterbacks in the National Foothall

League.
"When Carlton made the interception, the whole offense was saying, 'Please get into the end zone,' said Kelly, who was 13 of 25 for only 117 yards.

The Broncos, who had entered the game the underdog by nearly two touchdowns despite their 12scason, had their chances, even af-ter they lost Elway in the fourth quarter with a bruised thigh.

"We did everything we could," Coach Dan Reeves said. "Our defeuse held them to three points. It's a shame a turnover changed the

They didn't do anything differently," Coach Mary Levy of Buffalo said. "They just played hard and aggressive. We're just happy to get out with a win."

On a tricky course that caused numer-

ous falls and disqualifications - including

the favorite. Vreni Schneider of Switzer-

land, in the first run and Kronberger in the

time of I minute, 53.32 seconds.

137 yards and ran 2 yards for the fense that sent Simon Fletcher and ORCHARD PARK, New York Broocos' only touchdown with Michael Brooks blitzing on most 1:43 left, after Scott Norwood's plays, 44-yard field goal had given the Bills a 10-0 lead.

Elway, 10 of 15 in the first half for 113 yards, was only 1 of 6 for 8 yards in the second half.

But the story was the opportunities the Broncos missed. Norwood, who missed a late 47-

the same in the 20-19 Super Bowl

loss last year to the New York Giants, was a lot more successful than Denver's David Treadwell. Treadwell missed from 47, 42 and 37 yards in the first half as the Broncos got into Buffalo territory on all six of their possessions, get-

ting as far as the Bills' 11 on one Bui Buffalo's defense, ranked pext-to-last in the NFL during its 13-3 regular season, rose up each

time, led by linebackers Cornelius Bennett and Darryl Talley and nose tackle Jeff Wright, forcing the field-goal tries. Cornerback Kirby Jackson made one of the higgest plays, stripping Steve Sewell of the hall at the Buf-

falo 44 after the Broncos had recovered an onside kick following Kuhiak's touchdown. Treadwell's misses made the me scoreless at halftime, as Buf-

falo, which led the NFL with an average of 448 yards per game, was held to 58 total yards in the first

total oo their second possession of the third quarter, driving 44 yards to the Denver 26. But on a third and seven. Tyrone Braxton intercepted a Kelly pass. That turned out to be a turning

point — for the Bills. On the second play, Elway dropped back and attempted a middle screen pass, a play that had worked for 21 yards in the first

But he couldn't get it over Broncos couldn't move again from Wright and Bailey. Bailey grabbed their 49 as Elway underthrew an the ball on the 11, juggled it, hroke a tackle by Elway and took it into down.

"I had a window there," Elway

said afterward, "hut it was an awful small window and Wright just upped the ball right into Bailey's "I should have made the tackle."

"I just didn't do it by myself," Bailey said of his first touchdown second - Ginther finished with a total in four NFL seasons. "Jeff tipped the ball and I was just there." That was just 0.22 seconds ahead of This was supposed to be a shoo-Spain's Blanca Fernández-Ochoa, who led

tout between the teams that had represented the American Football Conference in four of the five previous Super Bowls, particularly with the relatively mild 42-degree weather (23.5-degrees centigrade) in Buffalo.

Instead, it was a day of futility, particularly for the Bills, who eemed bewildered by a Denver de-

Denver had plenty of early chances, but came up empty. On the second series, a 21-yard screen pass from Elway to Sewell got the ball to the Bills' 34. But Talley threw Gaston Green for a 1yard loss; Leon Seals dumped Green for a loss of 4, and Wright yard attempt that would bave won sacked Elway for 12 yards, forcing

> upped a Kelly pass and Greg Kra-gen made a diving interception at the 26. But Bennett and Leonard Smith combined on a sack, and Treadwell's 47-vard field goal try went wide right.
> The fourth time was the most

> confusing.
> From his 37, Elway threw a pass that was ruled by the officials as an interception by Jackson at the 2 yard line.

It was overruled on a replay, but nearly five minutes passed before the officials figured out what down it was and where the ball should be responsed.

The Broncos got a first down when Wright was offside on a third and four, and got as far as

the II. But Elway fumbled a snap, then was sacked by Bruce Smith and Treadwell his the right upright

from 42 yards away. Then Elway connected with Sewell on a screen for 26 yards to the Buffalo 24. That ended with Treadwell again hitting the right upright

from 37 yards. And on the sixth possession, Sewell took a direct spap in the shotgun but furnhled and recovered on third and two at the Buffa-

Denver's futility continued into the second half.

After Mike Horan's 76-yard punt, the longest in AFC ritle-game history, pinned the Bills back, the

Buffalo finally got a drive going 45 yards to the Denver 26, but Braxton ended that threat with an interception on a third down play on which Kelly threw into double соустаде.

But two plays later. Wright and Bailey broke through and upped Elway's screen pass, resulting in the touchdown. That was the turning

The Statistics

But—Baller 1) interception return (Norwood kick), 9:32, Fourth Quarter But—F6 Norwood 44, 10:42, Den—Kubiak 3 run (Treadwell kick), 13:17.

PASSING—Denver, Elway 11-21-1-121, Ku-biok 11-12-0-136. Butfalo, Kelly 13-25-2-117, RECEIVING—Denver, Johnson 8-104, Sow-ell 7-78. Sharpe 3-49, Young 3-25. Notifiel 1-16. Butfalo, McKeller 3-39, Thomas 3-15. Reed 2-19. Dayls 2-13. Metzekours 1-14. Lofton 1-11. Reete 1-4.

Beebe 1-4. MISSEO FIELO GOALS-Denver, Tread-

■ East Wins Japan Bowl

The 50,000 Japanese spectators who came to watch the 1990 Heisman Trophy winner, Ty Detmer, on Sunday were not disappointed, as he passed for 131 yards and ran

for a touchdown. The Associated

Press reported from Tokyo. But the performance by the Brigham Young quarterback was not enough to carry the Japan Bowl. Michigan linebacker Erick Anderson's interception with eight minutes left set up a 1-yard dive for the winning touchdown by Kevin Turner of Alabama as the East college all-stars edged the West, 14-13.

• In Honolulu, Mark Barsotti of Fresno State hit Brian Treggs of California with a 77-yard scoring pass with 3:24 left to rally the West to a 27-20 victory over the East in the Hula Bowl on Saturday.

Treggs dashed past defensive back Steve Israel of Pitt, Barsotti connected with him down the left sideline at the East 35 and Treggs ran untouched into the end zone. Barsoto then passed to UCLA running back Kevin Smith for the two-point conversion.

Derrick Moore of Northeastern State in Oklahoma scored on runs of 1 and 18 yards.

Holzer Wins Super-Giant Slalom as Accola Closes on Tomba

that was marred with injuries. The season

ended for Rob Boyd of Canada, Atle

Skaardal of Norway and Berni Huber of Germany a month before the Olympics.

Hnber, starting third, crashed and broke a bone in his back, pulled a muscle in his

Doctors said Skaardal, who also crashed, tore ligaments in his left foot and

left knee and was flying home to undergo

Boyd, competing in his first race since

right thigh and injured his right ankle.

Dennis Green: Vikings' coach.

GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN, Germany — Patrick Holzer, giving his Italian teammate, Alberto Tomba, a little help on the way, led a charge by late starters and won the men's super-giant slalom on Sunday to post his first World Paul Accola of Switzerland was second

and closed to within eight points of Tomba, the World Cop overall leader, who does not compete in the fast races and skipped the downhill on Saturday and the Super-giant on Sunday. Holzer's victory prevented Accola from taking the overall lead, but the Swiss went

to the top of the super-giant sialom stand-"I am glad that Tomba is still on top, but first of all I try to win for myself,"

SIDELINES

For the Record

ons in Carlsbad, California.

Bowman got his second men's title.

challenger series beginning Jan. 25.

in exchange for guard Brisn Shaw.

Games, breaking her world record of 5:54.35.

Holzer said. "I was hoping to finish among said.

South African Track Groups Unite

The British Athletic Federation said Simday that South Africans would

Didier Camberabero, the French team's goal kicker, injured his right

The Italian soccer league will begin using professional referees in 1993,

Steve Elkington, the Australian now living in Houston, shot a bogey-

less 67 for a 54-hole total of nine-under par 207 and a two-stroke lead

over Billy Andrade, Brad Faxon and Rocco Mediate after Saturday's

third round of the PGA season opening Infiniti Tournament of Champi-

The Slovenian challenge for the America's Cup has withdrawn from the competition because its wooden yacht won't be completed in time for the

Debbie Lawrence of the United States ran the 1,500 meters in 5

minutes, 54.31 seconds at the Hamilton (Ontario) Spectator Indoor

the federation's president, Antonio Matarrese, said in Rome.

be invited to the indoor meet in Glasgow on Feb. 8;

After the race, Tomba embraced Holzer and congratulated his young teammate.

Tomba will compete in the slalom on Monday, but Accola's minth-place finish in the downbill Saturday gave him a chance to overtake Tomba because the slalom and the downhill will count as combined.

Peter Rzehak of Austria finished third on Sunday, leaving the Austrian men with-out a victory about halfway through the World Cop season.

Cup best was a second place in the super-giant slaton in Lake Louise, Canada. But Holzer was disqualified in that race for not wearing a proper seal on his racing suit. "I didn't expect to win and it's a nice

revenge for that disqualification," Holzer

Holzer, starting 26th, was timed in one minute, 17.09 seconds. His previous World

back surgery in October, tore ligaments in his right knee. Doctors said his season also Wasmeier was 38th out of the gate and went fearlessly down the course.

"You had to be aggressive today, and not let yourself be intimidated by the course," he said. "I think there were so

impressed by the course."

bach," Ginther said after the race, "I wanted to prove to everyone that I still have winner of the downhill on Saturday, a race seconds, edging Patrick Ortlieb of Austria, who was second in 1:50.64. Hansjörg Tauscher of Germany was third in 1:51.35. ■ Ginther Soars to 3d Overall

Sabine Ginther of Austria, aggressively attacking an iey course at Schruns, Austria, on Smday won her first World Cup alalom and capped a stunning weekend in which she amassed 280 overall points.

The victory, coupled with an impressive second-place showing in the downhill event on Saturday, also gave Ginther her first World Cup combination victory.

Ginther's 280-point weekend delighted the partisan Austrian crowd at Schruns

and Katja Seizinger of Germany (412).

after the first run. Anneliese Coberger of New Zealand was third with a time of 1:55.76. and sent her overall World Cup point total zooming to 401. That put her in third place behind teammate Petra Kronberger (419)

On Saturday, Katja Seizinger scored her second World Cup victory of the season, racing down a fast, hard downhill course. Seizinger's other victory this season was in a super-giant slalom at Santa Caterina,



Vasili Matchouga: Seeks funds.

CAPE TOWN (AP) — South Africa's two leading track and field groups, one white, the other black, formed a unified body Sunday in a By Sabatini

groups, one write, the other black, formed a united body Sunday in a move that should clear the way for Olympic participation this summer. With unity in athletics, virtually all major sports in South Africa are now governed by integrated bodies. Most have been re-admitted to world competition after being banned for decades because of apartheid. The latest integrated organization is called Athletics South Africa and will select the track and field team that hopes to go to the Summer Games. South Africa has accepted an invitation from the admitted to the Summer Committee to a to Barrelene has first must be an admitted to SYDNEY — Top-seeded Ga-briela Sabatini killed the chances of a family sweep in the New South Olympic Committee to go to Barcelona, but first must be re-admitted to the International Amateur Athletic Federation, the world body govern-Wales Open tennis tournament by dominating No. 2 Arantxa Sánchez Vicario, 6-1, 6-1, in the women's

singles final Sunday. But the Sánchez family still took three of four titles in the tournsment. Sánchez Vicario's brother, Emilio, won the men's title Saturday, and he and countryman Sergio Casal took the doubles crown Sunleg Sunday and said he probably would not play in the Feb. 1 Five Nations match in Cardiff. day, beating Scott Davis and Kelly Jones of the United States, 3-6, 6-1,

Later Sunday, Sanchez Vicario teamed with Helena Sukova of Czechoslovakia to beat Mary Joe Fernandez and Zina Garrison of the United States, 7-6 (7-4), 6-7 (4-7), 6-2, for the women's doubles Kristi Yamagochi, the 1991 world champion, won her first title in the U.S. Figure Scating Championships in Orlando, Florida; Christopher

In Auckland, unseeded Jaime Yzaga of Peru overcame gusting winds and American MaliVai Washington to win Sunday's title match at the New Zealand Open. Yzaga, playing his first ATP Tour event since the U.S. Open, defeated Washington, 7-6 (8-6), 6-4, in a 1-hour, 51-minute baseline

The 1994-95 BOC Challenge single-handed round-the-world yacht race will start and finish in Charleston, South Carolina, instead of Newport, Rhode Island, which hosted the three previous races, race Struggle. Yzaga, who had been sidelined for three months with a knee inju-Sherman Douglas, the point guard sought last month by the Los
-Angeles Lakers, was acquired from the Miami Heat by the Boston Celtics ry, won the fifth title of his career. Washington, seeded No. 7, was playing in his first final.

Sánchez Day Former Soviet Republics Organize Spoiled Only Soccer and Olympic Sports Bodies

MOSCOW -- At least eight for-

mer Soviet republics have formed a new soccer association within the Commonwealth of Independent States, and said they will represent what was the Soviet Union at least through the European Championship, while an All-Commonwealth Sports Council has been formed to coordinate activities for the 1992 Olympics and other international competitions.

Members of the executive council of the old Soviet Soccer Federation voted oearly unanimously Saturday to transform themselves into the new Association of Soccer Federations of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Russian Information Agency reported.

The association will have 22 teams from Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Armenia and Moldova refused to join, and Ukraine home of some of the best teams apparently was uncertain.

The Commonwealth association will sponsor its own championship starting March 1. Its president, Vyachesiav Koloskov, said an invitation to send its best players to the European Championship finals in Sweden already had been received. That apparently ends the ques-tion of whether a team from the

former Soviet Union would com-pete at the European Champion-

ship or surrender its berth to Italy.

Council also will seek the bank accounts of the defunct Soviet Sports Committee, or Gossport, the Russian minister of sports, Vasili Matchouga, reiterated Saturday in Paris. Gossport was dissolved in December as the Russian government took over most ministries and departments of the former central

The All-Commonwealth Sports

At two days of talks near the Belarussian capital of Minsk, the officials agreed to ask their individnal governments for the rights to the Gossport money. A Tass report did not say how the funds would be

They also agreed to introduce their joint teams to international sports organizations for their participation in the Olympics and other official competitions this year.

Athletes from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan will participate as a joint squad in the Winter Games in Albertville next month. They will compete under the name "United Team" and use the Olympic flag and anthem.

Plans for competition at the mmer Games in Barcelona will be discussed with International Olympic Committee officials in sanne on March 9.

Arbitrator Reopens U.S. Bobsled Trials

LOS ANGELES - An arbitrator has ruled that the U.S. Olympic bobsled team was unfairly selected last year and ordered a new round of tryouts less than a month before the Olympics.

Attorney Ross R. Hart's ruling came after a hearing with hurdler Edwin Moses and football players Willie Gault and Greg Harrell, who claim they weren't informed of the schedule and regulations of the Olympie trials last July at Lake Placid, New York. Their team finished second, 01 of a second behind a team of Todd Snavely, Jeff Woodard and Bryan Leturgez

Moses, Gault and Harrell later filed a protest with the U.S. Bobsled Federation. Hart ruled Saturday that a series of pushoffs be

beld between Jan. 14 and Jan. 18 in Europe among the eight sledders already selected for the U.S. Olympic team, the two alternates and Moses, Gault and Harrell.

The pushoffs are scheduled just four weeks before the opening of the Winter Games in Albertville, France. The four-man bobsled compection will be held Feb. 21-22.

Chuck Leonowicz, driver of the top U.S. sled, said the ruling will cause chaos for team members who have been practicing together for months. "A lot of guys' dreams and aspirations were shattered by one man, the arbitrator," he said. "Something like this is tough to overcome. I called my sports psychologisi and my bypnotist — I've got to get prepared."

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A New Museum Acquisition: Customers

International Herald Tribune

DARIS -Art fairs have become a handy and inexpensive way for dealers to show and sell their wares worldwide: commerce, not the sort of thing a museum would do.

But this week museums from 15 countries are doing just that at the Grand Palais. While the fair is genteelly referred to as a salon - the Salon International des Musees et des Expositions (SIME) - its intention is to help museums sell themselves to the public and to each other.

SIME is the invention of Jean-François Grunfeld, a maverick ex-functionary at the

MARY BLUME

Ministry of Culture who put on a couple of excellent exhibitions such as "La Ville et l'Enfant" for the opening of the Pompidou center and "L'Empire du Bureau," a study of 19th and 20th-century office furniture, in 1984. Before going to the Ministry of Culture he was an economist and socialogist and worked as a fine arts consultant for a bank: a self-defined bybrid.

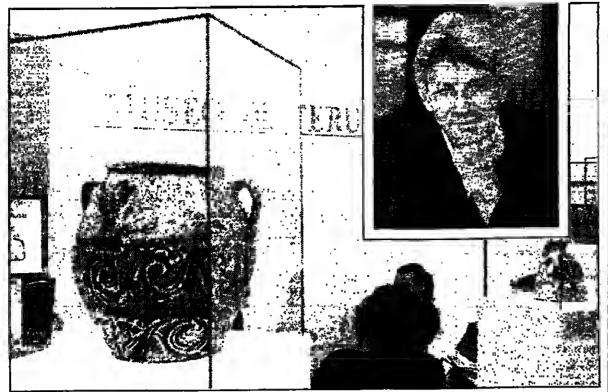
"The bankers considered me too much of an artist, the artists too much of a banker," he says. Both sides still feel that which is fine with Grunfeld. His aim with SIME is to bring art and economics together, where they already are, and in the open, where they are not.

"Museums are more and more abliged ta produce results to justify the investments that have been made in them," Grunfeld says. SIME gives them this chance.

At the first SIME in 1988, only a small portion of the Grand Palais was used and Grunfeld worried that he would be the only visitor (there turned out to be 47,999 nthers). The next fair, in 1990, roughly doubled in size and number of visitors. This year the fair occupies the entire exhibition space and includes 444 exhibitors.

The fair works at several levels. In the balcony there is the technical section devoted to showcases, lighting, security the highly specialized hardware and software of museums today.

Also participating are art publishers, from books to postcards, and restorers who will give demonstrations. But on most of the main floor the museums themselves will be on display: private and public museums that want to become better known, museums that have just been opened, redecorated or extended their collections, regions who want their museums to attract tourists, museums that simply want to preen. The articles on display range from nine Brancusi sculptures sent by Romania to Norwegian wooden furniture, a scale working model of a French steel mill and the unspecified relic of a Venetian doge.



Art fair in Paris is a collectors' cabinet of museum displays; inset: the idea man, Jean-François Grunfeld.

Grunfeld, who enjoys disorder and dis-trusts pedagogy, has made the displays as varied as possible but has relented by offering a floor plan so that visitors interested in, say, archaeology, can track down the museums with archaeological displays.

There will also be symposia, a gastro-nomic restaurant backed by the Region of Burgundy and run by two chefs with Mi-chelin stars from Dijon, a jazz concert on the last night, and a display of 17th- and 18th-century Japanese armor from the collection of the French sculptor Arman.

Grunfeld intends to have artists' collections at all future SIMEs. "Artists' collections are more interesting than million-aires' collections," he says. The exhibition is open to the public Jan. 14-19.

There are 18,000 museums in Europe, Grunfeld says. "Obviously the Louvre or the Pompidou center don't need me, but a lot of the others do, whether they like it or not. A lot of museum directors were much happier when no one came to their museums. Now they know they need the public to survive."

In these straitened times, SIME offers armchair museum-hopping at small cost. Grunfeld does not intend that a visit to a pocket version of a museum replaces a visit

to the museum itself. "A salon like this is like reading a few pages of a book. It cannot substitute for the book."

This year's outstanding displays, be says, include a stand from the collections of 10 Berlin museums devoted to the human body in sculpture, and Czechoslovakia with some fine Baroque alterpieces (Czechoslovakia will also participate in a symposium on the role of the museum in a post-totalitarian state).

The Netherlands has a stand on the influence of international trade in building museum collections, and Switzerland has sent a mountain covered with art replicas while a cave inside has high-definition images from pieces in Swiss collections. Al-though Grunfeld has banned the use of replicas, he has made an exception for the Swiss display because of its quality.

As if to reinforce his view that art and the economy cannot be separated, the recession has diminished the number of exhibitors and the size of the displays. Several French provincial and regional museums have defected and Great Britain, Grunfeld says, is a disaster. "One maseum paid for its space but simply couldn't afford the extra expense of installation and travel. The only group

that seem free from financial problems is the

Regional Museums of Italy."
Grunfeld says that even after six years his idea of gathering so many museums under one roof for a few days is looked upon as madness. "The Germans consider it utopian," he adds. "Anyway, if it's madness it's madness that seems to motivate people."

SIME is not full of great art or even fine art. Grunfeld's aim is to be as diverse as possible and in 1990 the objects on display included a stuffed ostrich, the family tree of Charlemagne, Pascal's calculating ma-chine and a 1930 Bugatti.

"I hope there will be even more oddities this time," he says. "For a museum curator the main thing is order, harmony, homogeneity. SIME is the opposite. It is disorder incarnate. The unifying principle is disorder and I spend a lot of time organizing this

Grunfeld wants SIME to be like the collectors' cabinets of pre-museum days, cheerfully mixed and apparently confused. He is pleased to have fine artworks on display and just as pleased that Slovenia is sending a rare live fish in a tank. "In my opinion we have made one more

step toward utopia," he says. "Maybe by 1994 I'll have a whole farmyard."

Don't Just Quick-Fix It, Stand There

WASHINGTON — "Quick fix still likely to tempt Bush, Congress," headlined The Washington Times, despite the advice of sopersided pundits that went. "Don't just do something, stand

Lawrence A. Kudlow, chief economist of Bear, Stearns & Co., argued that "the wrong tax cut is a temporary quick fix that puts moncy into people's pockets."

By William Safire

In a diplomatic context, Secre-tary of State James A. Baker 3dtold Russians that "there are not quick fixes and there are no simple solu-

And President Bush, commenting on indictments filed against Libyan terrorists, pointed out that the charges were not "some quick hit, quick fix on trying to find the

Perbaps subconscinnsly, the president stumbled on the deriva-tion of the phrase being used to decry a panacea for cure-alls.

A hit, now widely used as slang for "assassination," has also been

used since 1949 to describe the sensation of instant satisfaction experienced by the narcotics user; in The Man With the Golden Arm," Nelson Algren wrote about the way an injection "hit the heart like a runaway locomotive, it hit like a falling wall."

Long before that, a shot of dope was called a fix-up, a compound first used in 1867 by the British historian William Hepworth Dixon, who wrote in his book "New America" about an "eye-opener. fix-ups. or any other Yankee deception in the shape of liquor." To get a fix-up changed to get fixed in the 1930s, and reverted to a shortened noun - to get a fix - a

generation later. The first use of quick fix has not been located, but in the mid-1970s Newsweek began applying the drug term to tax cuts. Soon it lost its drug sense; in 1986, the Canadian Labor Congress denounced drug testing as "a quick-fix solution." apparently unaware of the aptness of its choice of words.

The sense of fix in quick fix meaning "cure-all that cures nothing is in competition with the slang sense of the verb fix as "to influence the outcome corruptly," as in the race was fixed, or in noun form, the fix is in.

Curinus, how the standard verb English language," retorted Marian fix, meaning "set, fasten, make firm. Mumford Brown of Orleans, Mas-

price fixers go to jail).

The most voguish sense of quick fix is "any slapped-together solu-tion doomed to failure." Word junkies pushing narco-derivations get a quick fix on why.

Here's a flash from the campaign to find the origin of the classic if. by-whisky speech, a parody of a politician taking both sides of an

Comage goes to Judge Noah S. (Soggy) Sweat Jr. of Corinth, Mississippi (the nickname Soggi based not nn his last name but on

> The president scored a hit on the phrase being used to decry panaceas for cure-alls.

"Sorghum Top," referring to the way his hair resembled the tassel that grows atop sugar cane).

In 1952, as wets and drys were debating lucal prihibiting of booze, Sweat, now 69, copyrighted

his speech: "If when you say whisky you mean the Devil's brew ... but if when you say whisky you mean the oil of conversa-

On another etymological front, it was reported here that the coiner of the now-ubiquitous phrase the peace process was Henry A. Kissinger, then secretary of state, in the mid-1970s. To double-check, I sent a note with the citation to my old friend Henry in New York, who replies: "I honestly don't know if I coined the phrase peace process. But have I ever refused credit for anything?"

Tar-baby did me in; I should have listened to Brer Fox. .. Beginning a pusillanimous apology in a political harangue, l wrote, "Another reason I laid lnw

"You have committed the most common grammatical error in the

or permanent," has been so often sachusetts, "using laid as the past associated with corruption (Mr. tense of the verb lie. The proper conjugation of lie meaning re-

cline, is lie, lay, lain."

Elizabeth Baird Saenger of Mamaroneck, New York, picks it up from there: "You meant and should have said, 'Another reason I are freaked out because it's hard to lay low . "Lay is the simple past tense of lie, an intransitive verb (I lie low today, I lay low yesterday, I have lain low for weeks

Lie, I am instructed, when it is a verb meaning "to recline," is in-transitive; that is, when you lie in the weeds, you are not committing any action against the weeds.

My recent prediction on television that Mikhail S. Gorbachev will "My there in the weeds, and he'll try to make a complete." to make a comeback," was a repetition of my error - he'll lie there in

An entirely different verb is lay, meaning "to put, place," and it is transitive, as when you lay your hands on a villain, or lay odds on the unlikelihood that a language maven has a blind spot.

Now here's the point of confusion: as we have seen, when you change the present tense of lie in the past tense, you get lay ("I lay low yesterday"). But that same word lay is the present tense of the verb meaning "to put", as Saenger writes: "I lay down the newspaper now in order to write. I laid it down yesterday. I have laid it in the same place for weeks."

When I asked my grammatical aide, Jeffrey McQuain, how to get out of this without looking like a sap, he suggested, "If you were a hen, you could lay low in the nest, meaning lay the eggs low." I am not a hen. "Or you could say you were misled by Uncle Remus."

That's it: "Tar-Baby stay still, en Brer Fox, he lay low." The author, Joel Chandler Harris, misled generations.

ations of Americans with his dialect idiom; if the present tense for Tar-Baby was given as stay, then the present tense for Brer Fox should have been lie. Only if Tar-Baby stayed still - past tense could Brer Fox lay low.

However, let's face it, "Brer Fox lay low" is the memorable phrase, and it is grammatically impeccable. The word I used, laid, can best be used in the past tense of lay, as in "I have just laid my cards on the ta-

> And that's nn lie. New York Times Service

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